THE Modern Stateſ-man.

By *G. W.* Eſq;

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In hac ruina rerum ſtetit una integra atque immobilis virtus populi Romani. *Hæc omnia ſtrata humi erexit, ac ſuſtulit.* Livie.

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Robert Price.
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1654

To the Reader.

READER,

I Here present thee with a few conceptions and observations hudled together during my confinement to my Chamber by an arrest from Heaven; my nobler part being then unwilling to ly idle, when the other was denyed the liberty of action: If I have not observed so exact a methode as thou mightst expect, let the distraction of my mind by bodily pains and weakness plead my excuse.

1064998

Thou

Thou mayest wonder perhaps to meet me walking abroad without a support, which was not from any overweening confidence in my own ability, but because I was ignorant where to find such an one as might lend me an hand; and this, not that I could not have pick'd out one sufficient in my own apprehension, but in thine: For when I considered our divisions, what animosities, what parties, what factions are amongst us, I knew not where to elect the man might please all, and so rather would have none, than one that might creat a prejudice,

judice, or hinder any from looking into this little Treatise of so publick concernment. We are all passengers in the publick Vessel, therefore as wise Mariners diligently observe the Heavens, that they may not be taken unprovided by Tempests: so ought we to enquire what may betide the Publike, whereon our private Quiet, and Happiness depends. Foresight is an half-prevention, and though it may not totally defend, yet will it take off the edge so far, that the evil shall not be able to pierce to the heart: let this then suffice to move thee to

read on, whereby thou ſhalt be enabled to make a perfect judgement, whether happineſs, or calamity attends the nation whereof thou art a member. Sol et homo generant Hominem, ſay the Naturaliſts, and Providence, and Vertue concur in the begetting of a perfect and durable Commonwealth, for divine influence, and humane activity are equally neceſſary to the generation of the politick, as well as natural Body, and Heaven and earth muſt join to make up an abſolute Compoſitum. I Obſerve then both God, and Man, the a-

ctings

stings of Providence towards, and of Vertue in a Nation, and thou mayest foretell whether it will be well or ill with them, without going to a Conjuror, or any Star-gazing Mountebank.

FAREWELL.

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THE

THE Modern Statesman.

CHAP. I

That there is by nature in all men an inquisitive desire after the knowledge of futurity; the reason of this; the means by which they have attempted to attain this in all Ages.

THere is, and hath always been, in the generality of mankind, an itching desire, and hankering after the knowledge

of future events, the Sonnes of *Adam* reaching out their hands to the forbidden tree, and catching at the fruit of it; yea, this off-spring of *Eve* longing for the greeneſt apples, the precocious knowledge of Events, before they come to their juſt ripeneſs and maturity.

And to ſay truth, the Tree of knowledge is fair to the eye, and pleaſant to the taſte; for as all notional dainties are delightful, ſo eſpecially theſe prenotions and anticipations of things are the more ſweet and delicious to the palates of men, becauſe moſt of their being is treaſured up in their future condition. They can find no ſatisfaction, no Sabbath, no quiet in their

preſent

present state, and therefore they would fain know what the next day, what the next year, what the next age will bring forth; in the highest prosperity they fear a mutation, in the lowest adversity they are impatient for a change; and hence it comes to passe, that futurity is the mark at which all levell the arrows of their Counsels, their endeavours, their hopes, their desires, and their prayers.

This hath caused them in all ages to have a sacred esteem of those who pretended skil in divination, as the honour conferred upon *Joseph* by *Pharaoh*, and the advancement of *Daniel* by the Chaldean and Persian Monarchs recorded in sacred writ undoubtedly makes out, to let

passe the honours which the *Magi* enjoyed among them, which are set down by those that wrote their histories.

Thus the Jews who had the *Urim* and *Thummim*, and Prophets from God to enquire of, yet ranne a madding after wizzards, and such as had familiar spirits, had their false prophets by hundreds, yea, and sent to *Baalzebub* the God of *Ekron*, an oracle of the Devils, to enquire, as in the life of *Ahaziah* will appear.

With how frequent, and costly sacrifices did the *Grecians* adore their Oracle-giving Deities, purchasing an answer with a *Hecatomb*, and with the bloud of a hundred dumb beasts conjuring their dumb devils, before the

the sullen fiends would vouchsafe to answer them? and of what esteem were the *Sybills* books among the *Romans*, who with all other heathens were so inquisitive after the future, that they left no stone unrol'd to attain the knowledge of their fates?

There could not a Bird chatter, but there was an *Augur* to comment on, and expound its language.

There could not a Bird flye, but there was an *Anspex* to watch it; nor light, but he was ready to observe, and by its motions in the ayr interpret the revolutions of States and Persons.

There could not a sacrifice fall, but there was an *Arnspex* to behold the posture of it, and by

the quietneſſe or ſtrugling o
the ſenſitive creature, to foretel
the facilities or reluctancies in
the affairs of rational beings;
and an *Exſpex* to conſult the en-
trails, and by the colour of the
inwards tell the complexion of
outward affairs.

There could not a line ſeem
to be ſcribled on the hand, but
there was a *Chiromancer* to read
them, and with his interlineary
gloſſes expound them, giving a
ſhort Synopſis of the future
paſſages of this preſent life out
of that *Enchiridion* (as they
would have it) of natures pen-
ning.

The *Interpreter* of Dreames
was ſet to judge in the horny
and ivory gates of fancy, and as
if the day were to receive light
from

from the night, to regulate it walking motions, by th o thers ſlumbring intim ations.

To paſſe by thoſe ſeveral kinds of the ſame madneſſe ex preſſed in *Geomancy*, by circles i the earth; *Pyromancy*, by fire; *Hydromancy*, by water; *Necromancy* by the Ghoſts of the dead, &c. of which the nations were enamoured, the heaven it ſelf coul not eſcape them, but the *Aſtrologer* with his key was to unlock the ſtarry charracters, and out of them ſpell the fate of ſublu nar y things.

And here let me not be miſtaken, for I am not of opinion that thoſe glorious bodies w ere created only to twinckle in a clear night, I do believe them to have an influence on ſublunary

bodies, and see the Moon empire it over the waters, &c. the humor increase, and decrease, as it fills or is in the wane, yet are they not, I conceiv, so easie to be read as some pretend, it certainly to be known by any; for I find the Prince of the power of the air himself at loss in his conjectures, which made him so cautelous in his oraculous responsals, as *Plutarch* in many places observes.

And *Aquinas* will have the crows, cranes, & swallows, those flying Almanacks, more happy and successful in their predictions, than our *anni specula*, which become often crack't & broken in their gussings at the weather and truly the giving such unequal representations of things most obvious, is a very bad inducement to

to create a belief of their ability to foretell things far more imperceptible, and immaterial, that depend upon the will and decrees of God, and upon the motions of most free and indifferent agents; yea, such as are confessed on all hands so able to oppose, that they cannot be compelled, for *Sapiens dominabitur astris*, & it is related of *Socrates*, that of a crabbed and dissolute disposition by nature, he became the most accomplished in his time by Philosophy.

But I shall not set bounds to other mens knowledge, nor circumscribe them within the circle of my own ignorance, they may have dawnings where I perceive no star-light; yet take this along with you, that God

often in text-hand declares hi
mind, in a Comet, a blazing-ſtar
and other fiery apparitions, a
he did before the laſt deſtructi
on of *Jeruſalem*.

And as the *Jews* and *Heathens*
ſo many *Chriſtians* have been
tampering about futurities, how
lawfully I cannot ſay, for I am
perſuaded we ought to acquieſc
in Gods revealed will; God will
have his children in ſome ſenſe
in diem vivere entertain fortune
by the day, and he doth chooſe
gradually and leaſurely πολυμε-
ρῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, to diſcover the
thoughts he hath concerning
them, that he might keep them
in a waiting and obedient po-
ſture, in a poſture of depen-
dance, and expectation; not
that I would have them with

Anacreon

Anacreon cry out, τὸ σήμερον μέλει μοι, τὸ δὲ ἄυριον τίς οἶδε, give me to day, let who will take care for to morrow; or with the *Stoicks* lazily expect the blind ſtroak of a conceited unavoidable Fate; but uſing all lawful and probable means, endeavour their countries, and in it their own future good.

I confeſſe with that kingly Prophet, that Gods wayes are unſearchable, and his paths paſt finding out, that is in the hidden and ſecret bringing of things about, yet in his out-goings he will be obſerved, that his glory, his power, his juſtice, and his mercy may be made manifeſt unto the children of men; thus we find his mighty works of creation, and redemption, of

preſer-

preſervation, and caſtigation, all along recorded in the ſacred regiſters of the old and new Teſtaments; and that for the comfort as well as inſtruction of his people; in the writings of thoſe glorious ſtars, the ſacred Penmen, may the Saints read their fortunes, and with comfort apply unto themſelves the divine diſpenſations of God to his people.

Hath God brought *England* through a red ſea of war out of Egyptian bondage, and will he not perfect his work? is the mighty hand of omnipotencie ſhortned that it cannot ſave? or the loving kindneſſe of the immutable Deity changed that he will not ſave? though the murmurers (thoſe repiners at

Gods

Gods hand, who would upon beds of down, with all ease and plenty be carried through the wilderness) may be cut off, and those low soules whom the heigt of the sons of *Anak* hath caused to rebell against the most high be consumed; and who knows whether for their sakes he hath not deferred to settle us in the promised land? yet shal the *Caleb*'s and *Joshua*'s who have followed God fully be brought into it, and their seed shal possesse it; though God may defer his mercies because of some mens infidelity, yet in his good time he will accomplish them, if his people walk worthy of them. Let us not then despair, nor be impatient, but endeavour to fit our selves to receive

receive them; for the wise God, and our merciful Father knows better what is good for us than our selves, his time is best, but let us from the bottom of our hearts eccho to that petition in the Gospel, *Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.*

But I shal not insist further in applying Scripture, and I could wish some (I am persuaded Godly persons) had not been (I fear) to adventurous in misapplying it; for surely if we warily look into those Prophecies in *Daniel*, we shall hardly find them calculated for the Meridian of great *Britain*, and *Ireland*; were not some peremptorily concerning the return of the Jews out of the Babylonish captivity, as in 9. *chap.* 24. *verse.*

the

the comming of Chriſt, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, as in 25, 26, 27. &c. *verſes* others concerning the four Monarchies in 2. *chap.* the diviſion of *Alexanders* Kingdome, in 8. *chap.* and the Empire of *Rome*, in the 11. *chap.*

So if we behold the book of the *Apocalyps*, it rather ſeems to hold forth the actions of a world than an Iſland, and the great concernments of the rational *ſpecies* than of a few Engliſh *Individuums*.

I hope I ſhal be allowed liberty of conſcience in ſo intricate a caſe, eſpecialy being no fundamental point of ſalvation, and if God ſhal be pleaſed to uſe *England* as the primary inſtrument in my dayes for the deſtruction of that Romiſh Kingdome

dome of Antichrist, and the ex
altation of the Lord *Jesus* bles
sed for ever on the throne, I sha
endeavor to praise him both in
word and deed, and humbly to
prostrate my life and fortunes
at his feet, as ready to wait upon
him in what part of that work
he shall be pleased to make me,
though never so meanly instru-
mental.

Chap. II.

That there is a way which leads to to this knowledge, and what it is.

And now setting aside the before rehearsed follies of the besotted world, I shall attempt by a new way of conjecture to guesse at the fortune of

the

the Common-wealth; reason shall be the Jacobs-staff by which I shall take its height, and in that true glasse shew you its future face, that I may have few, and those inconsiderable opponents. I know that discourse which is most filled with reason must needs be most victorious and triumphant, the weapons of it are general, and there is none of the sonnes of men able to oppose its force, the unjust Infidel must believe it, or deny his essence, and the Atheist must subscribe upon perill of his being, for the Creator, or as they, nature it self gave it an *imprimatur* & ὤν ὄντων the eternal Being graved it on immortal soules, as *Philo* very excellently declares, Νόμος δ' ἀψευδὴς ὁ

ὀρθὸς λόγος ἢ ὑπὸ τῦ δεινδς, ἢ τῦ δεινδ θέντι φθαρτὸς ἐν χαρτίδαις ἢ σήλαις ἀψύχαις ἀλλ' ὡς ἀθανάτῳ φύσεως ἄφθαρτος ἐν ἀθανάτῳ διάνοια τυπωθείς. It is eſſential, & ſo muſt be univerſal to the *ſpecies* of mankind; and as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, τὸ μὲν φύσει ἀκίνητον, καὶ πανταχῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν, what ſoever is natural, is immovable, and perpetually in the ſame manner energetical; It conſtantly and continually commands obedience, and none but a monſter, an *Heteroclite* in nature, as the Philoſopher ſpeaks Ἁμάρτημα τῆς φύσεως, will dare to reſiſt it; but to our purpoſe.

There is not, I confeſſe, enough light in any c eated reaſon to give a bright diſplaying of fate, nor is there vigour

enough

nough in any created eye to pierce into the marrow and pith, into the depth and secresie of the eternal decree; yet can it discover such objects as are within its own sphere with a sufficient certainty. The actings of Providence are so fairly printed, and the letters of it so visible, and capital, that we may read them, though some perverse beings, unworthy the name of men, slight all its workings, upon this account, that they are rolling, and fluctuating; who with the old *Scepticks* by a kind of strange hypocrisie, and in an unusual way of affectation, pretend to more ignorance than they have, nay than they are capable of, or with *Socrates* cry, *Hoc tantum scire, se nihil scire;*

ſcire; He only knows this, tha
he knoweth nothing; and wit
the Academicks ὃ κ Καταλαμβάνα
I cannot comprehend.

But let me tel ſuch dubious
if not lazy, Gentlemen, that it i
an error very derogatory to th
plenitude and exuberancy o
the divine actings, which ſtream
out in a clear cognoſcibility,
and no leſſe injurious to their
own natural capacities, which
were not made ſo ſtreight and
narrow-mouth'd, as not to receive thoſe leſſons that continually drop from Providence upon the world.

It is an unqueſtionable rule, *Omne quod eſt, quando eſt, neceſſe eſt eſſe*, a contingency, when 'tis *extra ſuas cauſas*, when it is actually produced, having a

de-

determinatum esse, it may then also have a determinate cognoscibility; for entity is the root and bottome of intelligibility; a *Common-wealth* in its growth is uncertain, and the means whereby it shal acquire strength lie hid in the eternal decree, until by the working of Providence they are presented to publick view, and then we know how it attained to maturity,

CHAP. III.

This Way confirmed by Reason, and Examples.

NOw this ordinary working of Providence hath so often shown it selfe in the advancement

advancement of States, tha
with a little induſtry we ma
track it, and by its leadings ma
conjecture how good a progre
ſuch or ſuch a State ſhall have
for matters in fact are as certai
in being and reality, as demon
ſtrations.

And this may be enlightne
by a ſimile fetch't from Vegeta
bles, which we ſee thrive by th
alternat help of heat and mo
ſture, moderately and in the
ſeaſons ſhining, and ſhowrin
down upon them; yet either
theſe in exceſſe, much enfeeble
or totally deſtroys them: hen
without a witch wil your cou
trey man foretel plenty or ſca
city, and indeed all ſuch effe
as lurk in probable cauſes, th
ſeem to promiſe very fair
ma

may be known also in an answerable, and proportionable manner, by strong, and shrewd conjectures: thus the Physician knows the disease, the Mariner forsees a storm, & the Shepherd provides for the security of his flock.

Thus by an intermingled influence of Peace and War, Nations have grown renowned, whereas, either alone depresses or extinguishes them; and for this we can give good reason.

For Warre files off that rust that is apt to canker and eat into the bowels of States; it opens the veins, purifies the bloud, and makes it lively, and generous; it raiseth and quickneth the spirits, and makes the members active,

active and prompt for the high-
eſt and nobleſt atchievments.

And Peace it fills the barns,
is the Nurſe of Trade, from
whence grow the golden ſin-
news that ſtrengthen the arms,
and makes them able to wield
their weapons in the time of
war; is the Patroneſſe of learn-
ing, the Miſtreſſe of Art, the
Parent of good and wholeſome
Laws; needs then muſt that na-
tion vigorouſly encreaſe, on
which both theſe have a joynt
and happy influence.

But if any ſhould ask how it
is poſſible to enjoy both? let
them go and ſee how one ſpring
is made happy by both ſhow'rs
and Sun-ſhine; nay they may
be both at once, there may be
a forein War, yet Peace at
home

home, it may rain and ſhine, and that together.

Yet let the drums bellow too long, and people will eccho to them, and become brutiſh, ſavage and barbarous; let war break in on all ſides, and like a deluge it ſweeps all before it, and if any thing be left, it is but mud and dirt.

Or let a long calm come what loath, what luxury, what effeminatneſs and cowardice doth it create? how doth it enervate the members, clog the ſpirits, cauſe the blood to putrifie, and corrupt, and beget that lazy and curvy diſeaſe which makes the whole body to draw a faint, ſickly, inglorious, yea, a noiſom breath?

Thus we ſee the ſtanding

waters to corrupt, and natural bodies craz'd, and resolv'd to their first earth, as much by plurifies as consumptions, by surfeits as famine; and soules as oft forced by a disease to take their flight, as a sword, and by an inward malady not seldomer than an outward enemie compell'd to quit their beloved mansions.

And as reason, so examples, and those in all ages, may be brought to back our assertions.

The *Assyrian*, *Caldæan*, and *Persian* Monarchies by arms got footing, and became powerfull, by a mixt peace, they grew into a form of government, & whilst these walked hand in hand, they continued both formidable, and lovely, and to use the

scrip-

Scripture expression, they were fair as the Moon, bright as the Sun, and terrible as an Army with Banners. This temperature of beauty and terror, order and strength, is the happy *Crasis* of a State; these in their true proportions make up the perfect Symetry, and from these discords springs the sweetest harmony in State musick.

And now, when all their sayls were fill'd with the prosperous gales of fortune, and there was none but vail'd and stoopt unto them, on a sudden being becalmd, an effeminate *Sardanapalus*, a drunken *Belshazzar*, and a luxurious *Darius*, put a period to their greatness; so easie it is to tumble down hill.

Thus the Roman Monarchy

fell to pieces, and became a prey to barbarous nations, yet out of its ashes arose a Phenix, a maiden Cõmon-wealth, which hath preserv'd her beauty as well as virginity for twelve hundred years without wrinckle or blemish, and hath so often foild the *Ottoman* forces, to whom the Grecian Empire became a prey with little difficulty; so potent is vertue even in the least bodies, and of such advantage is situation, and bad neighbours too sometimes, which will not suffer her antient vertue to be cankered, or eaten with rust.

Thus a few Fisher-Towns among the *Batavers* became a Common-wealth in despight of *Spain*, and *Flanders* to boot, and

and from poor di∫tre∫∫ed States are grown *Hogen-Mogens* with the help of *England*, for which they have ∫ince well rewarded us. But let them take heed le∫t their High and Mightine∫∫es be not brought as low as their ∫ituation, being grown re∫ty with their former little ∫ucce∫∫es, Peace, and Plenty, and by their treacherous ingratitude made their be∫t friend their enemy, to whom they are as much inferior in true valour, as they ∫urpa∫∫e in Pride, Arrogancy, Trechery, and Cruelty.

Yea, to come home, how il-lu∫trious, and famous did this nation grow in the dayes of Queen *Elizabeth?* What noble Acts? What generous ∫pirits did it bring forth? What ∫upplies did

did it afford the *Netherlands*? What an help was it to *France*, and what a Scourge and terror to the uſurping *Spaniards*? whoſe *Armada* ſtiled *Invincible*: it not onely ſent home wel bea ten, but with fire and ſword took revenge in their Ha-vens and on their Coaſts; and yet into how contemptible a condition it did relapſe by a long ſloath, and how it hath been undervalued, our own eyes can witneſſe unto us, if we look a little back, even to the ſadning of our friends, and rejoycing of our enemies.

Thus the beſt made Clocks by long being unwound up ga-ther ruſt, and become unfit for the leaſt motion.

And this that Politick Law-giver

giver perceiving, gave it in command to the *Spartans*, not to wage war often with one and the ſame enemy; which when *Ageſilaus* one of their Kings had neglected to their loſſe, and his own ſmart, He was flouted, returning wounded, by *Antalcidas*, with, The *Thebans* have well rewarded thee, O King, whom, unwilling and ignorant, thou haſt compeld and taught to conquer.

Chap. IIII.

An Admonition to many amongſt us.

WHat then may we think of ſome lately appearing amongſt us, who neither mind-

ing their own good, not their masters business, have been bold in the sight of the sun to upbraid those in power with these latter wars, as fomented and raised for their lusts, and our pressure, which by the good hand of Providence hitherto have turned to our honour, and advantage, and it may be have been a means to prevent our ruin; the common Enemy keeping us from quarrelling among our selves, and as it were binding up our hands from intestine slaughter: for so many and so great divisions there were amongst us, such animosities and heart-burnings in one party against the other, as in that unsetled estate we were in at first, *In sua victrices verten-*

tes

tes viſcera dextras, might have turned our weapons into our own bowels, had not heaven in mercy cut out work for us elſewhere, until we were a little better come to our ſelves What means then the bleatings, and lowings of theſe Cattel, which are driven like beaſts to the ſlaughter? for alas fond youths, though your noddles are not full enough to render you ſuſpected of deſign, yet undoubtedly have you been ſet a going by ſome well practiz'd in the art of ſedition, and whoſe concernments and inclinations prodigiouſly meet in that fatal point, to whom it may ſeem as natural to live in the fire of contention, as profitable to fiſh in troubled waters; conſider

but the bottom , and you will abhor the broachers of this design, who under the pretence of crying down forein , would stir up a civill war; and of advancing Peace , and Freedom, raise Rebellion and Confusion, which would inevitably ruin your Selves, Trades, and Countrey. Let not any of these flie *Sinons* make you break down your own walls, to bring in so fatal an Engine, a second *Trojan*-horse, which will powr forth armed Tyrants in the dead of night upon you, whose understandings they have charmd asleep with their false & counterfeit pretences. *Timete Danaos et dona ferentes:* You cannot be too mistrustfull of your old Enemy, of whom this design

design smels rank; take heed, I say, you lose not your liberty in the noise you make for freedom, and whil'st you crowd out Authority, you bring not Tyranny in on pick-back; which your enemies of themselves despair ever to accomplish.

Thus have I seen full-grown fruit which hath withstood the assaults of outward storms, rot with superfluity of innate moysture, and the double-armed nut resolv'd to dust by a worm bred in its own kernel.

Or what shall we say to a second sort, those sons of sloath, those dregs of a lazy and luxurious peace, who as if their souls lay in their bellies, find no con-

tent

tent but in eaſe and riot? whoſe whole note is, Where are thoſe golden dayes we once had? Where are our Court-revellings and Maſques? Where our Lord-Maiors Feaſts and Shews, and all thoſe joviall ſports gone, in which *England* was wont to pride herſelf and triumph? not a Wake, not a morrice-Dance now to be ſeen, are theſe the effects of a Parliament? and is this that we have got by fighting? Alas poor ſouls! you dream't (I'le warrant) a Parliament would have made the *Thames* flow Cuſtard, and turn'd the pebbles on the ſhore into Garoway-Comfits; have cauſed Bag-pudding to grow on every Buſh, and each pond abound with beef and brewis; have

have commanded the conduits to run Sack and Clarret, and the Rivers and Brooks Ale and ſtrong Beer; and welladay, your houſes are not wall'd with Haſty-Pudding, neither do Pigs ready roaſted come and cry *Come eat me*; *Lubberland* is as far off now as ever, and you deceived of all your goodly expectations; but peace, put fingers out of neyes, and I will tell you what; yea, what your Countrey, your Mammee (if ſhe be not aſhamed to own you) hath got; ſhe hath gained her freedom, and regain'd her reputation; of a baffel'd, ſcorn'd, and deſpiſed Kingdom, ſhe is become a victorious, dreadfull, and renowned *Common-wealth*; ſhe that was contemned by

Spain,

a Cale. b Ree. c the Downs. d Rebellion. e The first Invasion.

(a) *Spain*, cudgel'd by (b) *France*, brav'd by (c) *Holland*, affronted by (d) *Irelād*, & baffe'ld by (e) *Scotla* hath made those with whom she hath grappell'd feel the force of her arms, and taught the rest to observe their due distance; yea she hath done more in four years, than your Monarchs could do in four hundred; having quell'd *Ireland*, subdued *Scotland*, cudgel'd *Holland*, and with a Navy of near two hundred sayl scoured her narrow seas, and swept her Enemies Coasts, notwithstanding her strugglings at home with such undutifull sons as your selves, who have layd all the stumbling-blocks in her way they either could or durst.

But

But your Purses pay for this you cry, I warrant you, and so they did for the Puppets and Pageants, the hobby-horses and bells, and all the rest of the Trumperies your souls so much delighted in; as I conceive too you were wont to pay subsidies for your Charters, and your Petition of Right, which you hung by and gaz'd on with as much benefit to your selves then, as now on your Scotch Covenant; as also Ship-mony, Knighthood-mony, Coat and Conduct-mony, and now and then you received a Privy-seal; your Carts now and then did attend the Court, and your Oxen, Sheep, Horses, Hay, Straw, Oats, &c. were taken up at the Kings price, and that paid

payd too, when you could get it; there were ſlaviſh tenures, and a Court of Wards, a Star-Chamber, and an High-Commiſſion Court with its appurtenances in each Dioceſſe; Juſtices in Eire, and Forreſt laws; &c. which coſt you ſomething; but you will be wiſer upon ſecond thoughts, put on your conſidering caps than, for you know not what you may come too; what though you are out of hopes of being Courtiers you may be Patriots, and inſtead of being ſlaves to flattery, become Patrones of liberty; what though you cannot buy Knighthoods, and Lordſhips, yet may you purchaſe never-dying honour to your names by faithfully ſerving your God, and Countrey;

trey. Act then vertuously, and let posteriity find your names in the Van of good Commonwealths-men, among the first Ranks of the Assertors of Liberty. Which of you, were you to choose, would not rather be read in history a *Brutus*, than a *Tarquin*; an *Aristogiton*, than a *Pisistratus*; a *Pelopidas*, than an *Archas*; a *Timoleon*, than a *Dionysius?* whether doth the name of *Lancaster*, or *Gaveston*, *Hereford*, or *Spencer*, make the pleasinger found in English ears? and which were accounted Martyrs, which Traitors, in the thoughts of your generous Ancestors? and if all this will not prevail with you, if duty and honour appear small in your eyes, yet profit sure will do much,

much; it is the way to thrive; for it is more than probable that the Common-wealth will survive its enemies, and there are certain symptomes of its welfare.

That Providence which hath hitherto brooded upon it, and hatcht it into this perfection, that hand of Omnipotency which hath given assured tokens of assistance from heaven, hath in text-letters written its fortune on its forehead, so that the least read in *Physiognomy* may spell it out. The Schoolmen observe, *Divina voluntas, licet simpliciter libera sit ad extra, ex suppositione tamen unius actus liberi, potest necessitari ad alium.* We shall not go so high, but this we shall say, that where

God

God hath so visibly owned a nation, he will never draw back his hand unless upon some notorious provocation. Lift up your eyes then, *Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque videre Jussit, & erectos ad sidera tollere vultus*, which were given you to this end, and contemplate the works of your gracious Creator, it is your duty so to do, and he expects it at your hands; be not rebels to nature, nor make frustrate the admirable frame of your creation, wch will argue you not only ingrate, but worse than brutish, yea put you in the lower form, to the beasts that perish, for as the Heathen Satyrist,

Sensum è cœlesti demissum traximus arce,

Cujus

Cujus egent prona, & terram
ſpectantia; mundi
Principio indulſit communis
Conditor illis
Tantùm animas, nobis animum
quoque.

But leſt there ſhould be ſome ſo ignorant that they cannot, others ſo lazy that they will not take the pains to read this hand-writing from heaven, I will endeavour ſo plainly to ſet it before them, that *Pronaque ſi ſpectent animalia*, if they look but downwards, will they, nill they, they ſhal perceive it, unles they blindfold themſelves, and wink out of deſign; and for ſuch Moles, let them enjoy their dark Caverns, and there delve and dig untill they have laid themſelves as low as they

deſire

deſire, or deſerve; let their affected ſhades envelope them, and not the ſmalleſt ſtar diſturb their Cimmærian enjoyments; let the nights black Quiriſters, Ravens and Scrich-Owls, ſing Anthems and Requiems to their ſouls, and no ſun ariſe to diſturb the muſick, and diſſolve the lucky conſort.

CHAP. V.

How England *became a Commonwealth, and what may be expected from ſuch a Beginning.*

THE Engliſh Nation by a long and bloody civill War being awak't out of that ſleep which had almoſt brought a Lethargy upon her, (like an angry

angry Lion rows'd and enrag'd with the smart of his wounds) resolutely, and with a courage not unworthy the nobility of her Stock, sets upon the foe that had so gall'd her, and soon brought him under her feet; then disdaining to wear the fetters of a conquered enemy, assumes the power God then, and Nature at first had invested her with, and assumes her pristine freedom.

Thus *Bellona* was the Midwife which brought *England* to bed of the Common-wealth, which was no sooner born, but she swadled her in Ensigns torn from her proudest foes, and adorned her cradle with Trophies of victory! O sacred and happy birth! what Triumph at-

attend thy youth, and what Lawrells ſhall encircle thy manly front? Thou that haſt ſtrangled ſerpents in thy cradle, giveſt us hopes, that the ſeaven-headed *Hydra* ſhall fall by thee when thou haſt attained thy full ſtrength; and who haſt made it as it were thy ſport to pull down petty Tyrants, wilt make it thy buſineſſe to deſtroy the grand Impoſtor; that as with thy fiſt thou haſt given him a box on the ear, ſo with thy ſword thou wilt divide his head from his ſhoulders; For what leſſe than a Triple Crown can attend thy Chariot, whoſe go-cart is lackied on by Crowns in couples? for great, even for ſo great things ſure hath Providence reſerv'd thee, whom ſhe hath ſo care-

carefully tended in thy infancy; for though she hath suffered thine enemies to rise against thee, yet so tender a regard hath she had of thy youth, that she put hooks as it were in their nostrils, and restrained them from uniting, whom single she knew thee able to grapple with; so that their malice hath augmented thy glory, and by their endeavouring to ruin thee, they have encreased thy power, making themselves but Touchstones to convince the world of the purity of thy metal, and on their own shoulders advancing thee above an ordinary height, that the World might take notice of thy growth, and stature; and as with thee, so hath she done with others, even with all those

all those whom she intended to advance; examples of which, both divine, and humane histories abundantly offer to our veiw. Thus was it with *Israel* in their conquering the promised land, *Sihon* king of the *Amorites* first sets upon them, then *Og* king of *Baashan* came out against them, &c. thus we find it with divers others in other Authors, which to avoid prolixity I shall passe by, instancing in one and that so well known, that few, if any there be, but have heard thereof, and that the Common-wealth of *Rome*, which from a small beginning grew up into so vast a body, that her Eagles-wings spread over the greatest part of the then known world.

Chap. VI.

The beginning of the Common-wealth of Rome, *and the causes of its growth.*

THis City, or rather Town of *Rome*, being founded by *Romulus*, and inhabitants gathered together from divers places, was no sooner built, but it was threatned with ruin in its very infancy, and the best it could expect was but an ages duration; for the greatest part of the inhabitants being single, all hope of issue was cut off, which onely could afford it a longer life: Wives thus wanting, and none to be obtained by consent,

so

ſo contemptible were they in the eyes of their neighbours, they attempt what craft and force would do; and their Plot ſucceeded to their minds; for having proclaimed publick plays, and invited their neighbours, they ſuddenly provided themſelves wives of the *Sabine* Virgins, which came with their Parents to be ſpectators.

Yet this remedy ſeemed as dangerous as the diſeaſe; for the *Sabines* were a great and warlike nation, and a Colony of the *Spartans*, after whoſe manner they lived in Towns without walls, reputing themſelves ſafe in their own valour, and the *Romans* could not but expect they would reſent the affront. But ſee how fortune (which we

Christians truly tearm Providence) gave them assistance, by giving let to the conjunction of their enemies, though of one nation, and alike interessed in the quarrell.

First, the *Cæninenses* come against them, whose King being slain by *Romulus* in fight hand to hand, and their Army defeated, were compelled to leave their old habitations, and go and dwell at *Rome* by the Conqueror, who by this means encreased his strength as well as reputation, and became the better able to deal with the rest.

This war done, the *Fidenates*, *Crustimini* and *Antenates* begin another, and run the same fortune, and likewise being incorporated with the Victors still encrease

encreaſe the *Roman* Stock.

The reſt grown wiſe by theſe examples unite, and put the *Romans* to ſuch a plunge, that it was eaſie to conjecture what have would have been the iſſue, had they taken this courſe at firſt; but by the interceſſion of the women running in between the armies, a peace was made, and both Nations joyned in one, the City keeping its old name of *Rome* from *Romulus*, the people being called *Quirites* from the chief Tribe of the *Sabines*, the *Roman* and *Sabine* Kings jointly reigning.

Now could the wiſeſt among the ſons of mē have judged that a rape ſhould have begot an union? but there is an hand above diſpoſes of things above our

ſuppoſitions, which continued its favour till *Rome* grew of perfect ſtrength. This was he that withdrew *Porſenna*, and changed his enmity into love, and admiration; that reſtrained any warlike *Marcian* or *Lucan*, any *Mulius*, *Silo*, or *Teleſinus* with the joint forces of *Italy* from falling upon her, untill ſhe was able to bear the ſtorm; that cut ſupplies off from *Hannibal* when he had almoſt born down all before him, and made the envy of his own Citizens inſtrumental to their own ruin; that made *Antiochus* ſit ſtill until *Philip* was brought under, and *Tigranes* look on until *Mithridates* was beaten out of his kingdom, yea that provided work by the *Sarmatians* for *Mithridates* till the

the *Marsian* war was over; that divided the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* so, that *Marius* when he had overthrown one party, had time to joyn with the other *Censull* to help destroy the other, and suffered not three hundred thousand fighting men in one body to attempt *Italy*; and in like manner the slaves, and tencers, giving *Crassus* opportunity to defeat them, who had ranged *Italy*, and oft put the *Roman* Armies to rout; that by a few Geese saved the *Capitol*, and caused the unjust banishment of *Camillus* to be a means to preserve *Rome*.

Chap. VII.

A Parallel.

And hath not Providence in the ſame manner dealt with this *Common-wealth?* which was no ſooner eſtabliſhed in *England*, but it was threatned from *Ireland*, where *Dublin*, *Derry*, and a few forces under Generall *Monk* were onely left us, two being beſieged, and the third in an incapacity to afford them relief; when things were thus deſperate, God divided the Rebels, and made *O Neal* inſtrumental in the relief of *Derry*, neither could they be pieced untill *Ormond* was totally broke, and

and the other party under the Popiſh Biſhop of *Clogher*, fought and routed.

The *Iriſh* cloud almoſt diſſolved, a *Scotch* ſtorm threatens us, which yet came not on ſo ſuddenly, but that we had time to provide ſhelter, (Providence cauſing them to trifle away much time in their treaties, and other mockeries) inſomuch that the greateſt part of it fell in their own Nation, the tayl only beſprinkling ſome parts of this, where it totally vaniſhed.

And here we can never ſufficiently admire Gods goodneſſe to this Common-wealth, who when the enemy had given our Army the ſlip, and left them ſo far behind them, ſuffered them

not to march up to *London*, but to empound themſelves at *Worceſter*, and ſo over-ruled the hearts of this Nation, that notwithſtanding the malice and hatred of many to the preſent Government, yet not any conſiderable perſon, or number, joyned with the enemy, even marching through the moſt diſcontented and diſaffected Counties.

The *North* being cleared, the *Dutch* jealous of our encreaſe, who have found the ſweetneſſe of a State Government, endeavour to clip our wings, and to uſurp our long held ſoveraignty of the ſeas, having undermined our Trading a long while before; but they may put what they have got by it in their eyes with-

without any danger, unlesse of making themselves weep, notwithstanding their treacherous and base attempt upon a small squadron with one of our Generals in the time of Treaty, and before denouncing a war, and that even upon our own coast; whilst we besides the honour, and repute gained abroad, are grown more potent at sea in one year, than we had like to have been in many ages, had they let us been at quiet; and even thus the *Carthaginians* compell'd the *Romans* to become Masters at sea, by their injuries provoking that stout nation to adventure a sea fight, though so ignorant, that the Consull taught them to row by sitting, and beating poles on the sand; and truely little

little better sea-men were our Redcoats at first.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Providence, and Vertue, and the concurrence of second causes.

AND sure now no *Christian* but will acknowledge a divine hand over-ruling in these actings for *Englands* preservation, which even the *Heathen* observ'd by their dim light, in *Romes* advancement.

Thus we find that ingenuous moralist *Plutarch* affirming, that though there hath been a great and continual war, and feud between *Fortune* and *Vertue*, yet it is

is probable, they made a truce, and united their forces for *Romes* assistance.

Again, as they report *Venus* passing over the River *Eurotas* laid aside her looking-glasse, attire, and girdle, and took a spear and a shield to accompany *Lycurgus*; so *Fortune* having deserted the *Assyrians*, and *Persians*, hovered over *Macedon*, suddenly shook off *Alexander*, view'd *Egypt* and *Syria*, seemingly advanc'd *Carthage*, at last past *Tiber*, laid aside her wings, and set up her residence in the *Capitol*.

And as He, so the *Romans* themselves were sensible of this divine aid, as the multitude of Temples dedicated to *Fortune* may demonstrate; there was the

the Temple of *Fortunæ virilis*: *Fortunæ muliebris*: *Fortunæ primogeniæ & obsequentis*: *Fortunæ privatæ & Viscatricis*: *Fortunæ virginis*: *Fortunæ bonæ spei*: *Fortunæ masculæ*: *Fortis Fortunæ*, &c.

Yet did they not attribute all to *Fortune*, and neglect *Vertue*, of which they were as great admirers, and honourers, as they were adorers of the other; and *Plutarch* gives it a due place: *Rome* was (saith he) conducted and encompassed with whole troops of Citizens, brandishing bloody weapons, enobled with scars received before, bedewed with blood and sweat, and leaning on half-broken Trophies, such as her *Fabricii*, *Camilli*, *Cincinnati*, *Fabii*, *Æmillii*, *Marcelli*, *Scipiones*, &c. And

And let us but conſider, and we ſhall ſee that Providence works by inſtruments, and God expects the uſe of means; we cannot ſuppoſe a victory without a fight; lying ſtill, and wiſhing will do nothing, *Di munera ſua laboribus vendunt*, it was not hid from the Heathen, that the active onely were to expect a bleſſing; the hand of the diligent makes rich, and vertuous actions advance States and Perſons to honour and dignity. For though *ſcientia Dei*, the knowledg of God be the Cauſe of things, yet being but the Remote cauſe it takes not away Contingency: God himſelf perceives that ſome things will *evenire contingenter*, for he doth not onely *cognoſcere res*, ſed

ſed ordinem et modum rerum, know things, but the order and manner how they ſhall come to paſſe; He knows there are *cauſæ intermediæ*, which are *impedibiles et aefectibiles* (as the Schoolmen ſay) and from the wavering of theſe Second cauſes the whole riſe of Contingency flowes; thus in a Syllogiſm, let the Major be Neceſſary, if the Minor be Contingent, the Concluſion will be ſo too; though the Firſt cauſe be certain, yet if there be obſtructions in the Second, no man can aſſure himſelf what will be the effect; though the ſpring of motion cannot fail, yet if the wheels break, the progreſſe will be very uncertain to all but God, who knows whether they will break

or

or no; He knows whether such a Nation will use the means or no; whether it will improve his blessings, or abuse them; whether it will imploy the Peace, Plenty, Wealth, Power, and Strength it hath received for his glory, and the common good, or for Pride, Luxury, and riot: so that we only are in the dark; yet not altogether are we blind, but where we see Vertue on the throne in a Nation, there we may foretel a blessing to that people, and where Vice predominant, that its attendant Ruin is not far off; and for this the before-mentioned Commonwealth of *Rome* affords us an example in both kinds; which as it grew up by Vertue to an unparallel'd height, so by Vice

was

was its ſtrength broken, and its renown turned into ſhame, that *Dalilah* betraying this mighty *Sampſon* into the hands of his enemies, who have fettered him, and pulled out his eyes: It will not therefore I ſuppoſe be a work unworthy our labour to take a veiw of thoſe vertues, by which, that, as other Nations have become renowned, and ſet them for our exampl e; for though Heathens, they attained to a great height of morality, yea ſuch an one as may put moſt that wear the ſtile of Chriſtians to the bluſh.

CHAP.

Chap. IX.

Of the Piety of the Romans, *the Evill and Danger of Mock-thanksgivings.*

And first let us behold their Piety, which is not onely the cheif, but the file-leader, and indeed the ground of all the reſt; this is that which bridles the moſt unruly, and ſtrikes an aw where reaſon cannot perſuade; let this be taken away, and with it all fidelity, juſtice, purity vaniſh, yea humane ſociety cannot ſubſiſt without it, as *Cicero* obſerves in his firſt Book *de Nat. Deor.*

Never did they begin any buſineſs

buſineſſe without frequent ſupplications. *Civitas religioſa in principiis maximè novorum bellorum, ſupplicationibus habitis, & obſecratione circa omnia pulvinaria facta, Ludos Jovi, donumque vovere Conſulem juſſit.* Livie dec. 4. l. 1. *Supplicatio à Conſulibus in triduum ex Senatus-conſulto indicta eſt, obſecratique circa omnia pulvinaria Dii, quod bellum populus juſſiſſet, id bene, ac fœlicter eviniret.* Idem in eodem.

Never did they obtain a victory, or receive a deliverance, but publick thankſgivings were decreed, and thoſe for one, three, or more dayes, according to the greatneſſe of the benefit; *Magna victoria lætitiaque Romæ fuit literis allatis, ſupplicatio in triduum decreta eſt, & 40. majo-*

res

res hoſtiæ immiolari juſsæ. Livy. Thus when *Hannibal* was forced to leave *Italy* after ſixteen years war, they no ſooner heard of it, but they ordered ſolemn and publick thanks. *Decretum ut quinque dies circa omnia pulvinaria ſupplicaretur, victimæque majores immolarentur centum & viginti.*

Never ſhall we find them mocking heaven, giving thanks for a victory, when they had received a loſſe. A practice ſo ſuperlatively impious, that any leſſe than an *Atheiſt* muſt tremble but to think on; for what is this but to abuſe God, that man may be deceived; making the divine power (may it be ſpoken with reverence) as it were a ſtalking-horſe to drive the

the befool'd people into their nets? What is this other than a profeſt Declaration that their ſole confidence is in the arm of fleſh, not caring how they undervalew Gods glory, ſo they may maintain their own reputation, how they provoke him, ſo they may but keep up the ſpirits of their own party? *Flectere ſi nequeunt ſuperos Acheronta movebunt*, Sith God hath forſaken them, they will try what the Devill will do; ſith Heaven refuſes, they will try what help Hel will afford them: poor wretches, not at all conſidering, that whilſt they endeavour to rally, and patch together a poor, routed and broken party of frail men, they make omnipotency their foe, defying th

the Almighty himſelf in ſo publick a manner, that he is engaged by that which is moſt dear to him, his own glory, to revenge the affront; It is evident then how good a match they are like to have of it. Neither doth their wickedneſſe ſtop here; tis not againſt God only they ſin, but men alſo; they are not only Traytours againſt the Majeſty of Heaven, but their truſt on earth, betraying their own poor people which repoſe their confidence in them, by rendring them obſtinate and proud upon hopes of falſe ſucceſſe, which knew they but the truth, and their own weakneſs, might make their peace to the preſervation of many of their lives, and much of their fortunes;

tunes; and drawing the bloo
and miſeries of their neigh
bour-nations upon their ow
heads, falſely ſeduced to em
barque with them in their ill
thriving quarrel, wherein una
wares they often are oppreſ
when they fooliſhly ſuppoſe
all cock-ſure.

Yet hath this impious and
treacherous piece of policy been
acted again and again in our
eyes, with horrour and amaze-
ment may we ſpeak it, even by
thoſe who would be thought
Chriſtians: yea may not this
clothe many of the *Oxford*-
thankſgiving dayes in red, and
put our *Dutch* foes, if they have
any ingenuity, to the bluſh,
who not coutent by their emiſ-
ſaries abroad to abuſe all

Europe

Europe with brags and lyes, have of late ordered a day of Publick Thanksgiving at home to gull their own people into conceit of victory, not without a *Piaculum*, which may cost them dear before it be expiated. For he that is High and Mighty indeed, neither can be deceived, nor will be out-faced by any impudency whatsoever, and they had best consider whether they are able to engage with him too, whom they dare affront in the sight of Angels and Men.

Courage then brave Englishmen, you see what shifts your enemies are put to, you have beaten them out of their confidence in the rock of ages, and forced them to make lyes their

refuge, a wretched defence, and such as cannot long protect thē; behold what low-spirited foes you have to deal with, even such as dare not take notice of a losse; alas how far short come these of the *Roman* Fortitude as well as Piety, whom you shall see according to that of their own *Virgil*, *Tu ne cede malis, sed contrà audentior ito*, so far from being basely dejected by losses, though comming one on the back of another, that their courage rather encreased, being prick't on with shame and a desire to regain their lost honour, which stil buoied them up when in greatest danger of sinking? this is that true sober valour grounded on a right sense of honour, and due love to the pub-

lick

lick, which needed neither gunpowder nor brand-wine to make them fight lustick; this is that which rendred them victorious and triumphant, and which will enable you if you imbrace it. But we shall have occasion to speak of this more hereafter; let us return therfore to our generous *Romans*, whom we find (I say) so far from this impious mocking of Heaven,

That on the contrary, upon the least sense or apprehension of their Gods displeasure, They sought by all humble and Publick addresses to pacifie and appease their incensed Dieties: for this we may see their frequent lustrations and deprecations, the first to purge and cleanse

themſelves, the ſecond to avert and turn away their Gods anger. *Horum Prodigiorum cauſa decemviri libris adire juſſi, et novē-dialе ſacrum factum, & ſupplicatio indicta eſt, atque urbs luſtrata.* Liv. Dec. 4. l. 6.

Laſtly, beſieging an enemies City, they would invoke the *Gods* of that place, imploring their aid, and deprecating their anger, by inviting them to go with them to *Rome* with the promiſe of more magnificent Temples, and a more ſplendid adoration: ſo great a care had they not to provoke *Heaven*, and ſo fearfull were they to engage againſt it.

CHAP. X.

Piety and Valour not inconsistent: Piety rewarded in Heathens, and Impiety punished.

AND here by the way may be observed, that *Piety* and *Valour* are not inconsistent, and that *Religion* maketh not men *Cowards*. What Nation ever was more valiant, and what more religious than the *Romans*? who were so strict in their divine worship, that they would choose rather to lay themselves open to their enemies arms, than by omitting the least part of it, to their Gods displeasure: an eminent example of

which we have in that war of the *Gauls* which ſucceeded the firſt Punick, in which when *Flaminius* and *Furius* the Conſu's were gone againſt the Enemy with great Forces, the *Augurs* having found that ſome things were omitted in their election, They were commanded by letters from the *Senate* to return preſently and abjure their offices, which Letters *Flaminius* not opening until he had fought and routed the Enemy, and made a memorable invaſion of their Countrey, though he returned crowned with victory, and laden with ſpoil, not one went out to meet him, nay he had much ado to obtain a Triumph, (which was no ſooner paſt, but both He and his Collegue

Collegue were constrained to lay aside their Consulships) because he seemed to have contemned & made slight of their holy Rites; they esteeming it more conducing to the common safety that their Gods should be observed, than their Enemies overcome, and rather choosing to leave their Armies without Commanders, though in a war reputed so dangerous as that of the *Gauls*, in which their Priests were not exempted from bearing Arms, than omit the least Punctilio in their worship, so zealous and tender were they in matters concerning their Religion. Thus when they were besieged by the *Gauls* in the *Capitol*, and the day approached wherein

their ſolemn Sacrifice was to be performed in *Colle Quirinali*, the Hill ſo called, rather than to omit their duty to Heaven, they ventured through the very midſt of their Enemies Camp, and having performed their Rites, returned with ſafety, their Enemies either being amazed at the boldneſſe of the Attempt, or mooved with reſpect to Religion, which preſent death could not deter them from performing.

And though their Religion were idolatrous, yet according to their light being zealous they reaped the reward of a temporal proſperity: which ſome among them deſpiſing, ſmarted for to the purpoſe, in their own ruin reaping the reward of

their

their Impiety and contempt of Religion: Thus we shall see *Crassus* who slighting the Curses and Execrations of the Tribune *Ateius*, would make war upon the *Parthians*, where he lost his own and his sons life, with most of his Army, the poor remainder escaping by a dishonourable flight: and thus *Pompey* the great, who would, notwithstanding the intreaties and diswasions of the High-Priest, enter the Holy of Holies in the Temple of *Jerusalem*, in his comming out fell down, and never after prospered, but being overthrown by *Cæsar*, and flying into *Ægypt*, lost his head, his body being left unburied on the sands: and though he were no *Jew*, yet being a *Roman* by

Religion he was bound to reverence all Deities, as the Παντεον the Temple of all the Gods at *Rome* may demonstrate.

Neither need we wonder to see even a superstitious and idolatrous worship in the Heathens who knew no better, rewarded with outward blessings: Sith whatsoever is lovely in Nature is acceptable even to God himself, for 'tis a print of Himself, and He doth proportion some temporal rewards unto it; the courage of *Romulus*, the devotion of *Numa*, the integrity of *Fabritius*, the temperance, and justice, and publick spiritednesse of the rest, had all some rewards scatter'd amongst them, and can we think their Piety had no share?

which

which is so agreeable to nature, and so deeply imprinted by it on mans heart, that man, even the stubbornest, and most unwilling otherwise to submit, yet will fall down and worship a Stock or Stone rather than be without a Deity, will devise a Religion rather than be without one; but more of this in the next.

CHAP. XI.

Religion ingrafted in mans heart by Nature.

WE hear the Philosopher thus reasoning, Do not the imperfect serve the more perfect, as the Elements mixt

mixt bodies, mixt bodies plants, plants living creatures, living creatures and all the reſt man, nay hath not the ſoul a maſterlike rule over the body, and the underſtanding an empire over the appetite, ἡ μὲν ψυχὴ τῷ σώματι δεσποτικὴν ἀρχὴν, ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς ὀρέξεως, πολιτικὴν καὶ βασιλικὴν, and now when by nature it is thought convenient for the inferiour to ſerve the ſuperiour, ought not man to judge it beſt for him to ſerve the moſt wiſe and good God?

Cicero ſaith we cannot be juſt, unleſſe we be religious, *Pietas juſtitia quædam eſt adverſus deos*, lib. 1. de nat. Deor.

Epictetus, if I were a Nightingale, I would do as a Nightingale, but being a man what ſhall

I do? I will praiſe God; and that without ceaſing.

Nay *Epicurus* himſelf though he taught that God οὔτε πράγματα ἔχει οὔτε παρέχει; neither did any thing himſelf, nor commanded others to do, yet affirmed that his nature was ſo excellent and glorious, that it alone was ſufficient to allure a wiſeman to adore him.

Could the Heathen grope thus far, and ſhall we that have the name to be Chriſtians lagge behind them, could they perceive thus much by the glimmering light of nature, and ſhall we be blind in the glorious ſunſhine of the Goſpel? for ſhame let us open our eyes, leſt they riſe in judgement, and condemn us, and it be more tollerable for

for them than us in that great day, when the Lord shall appear with thousands and ten thousands of Saints and Angels. Behold O *England* to be religious is the way to thrive, Godlinesse will be thy gain both here and hereafter.

Chap. XII.

The Outward means to be used; Ministers to be incouraged, and maintained; the Christian Magistrates duty.

NOw that we may be so, we are to use all means God hath appointed for the obtaining the true knowledge of him, and his will; which is the ground

ground of Religion; for as our knowledge is true or false, so will our Religion be too; and the ordinary means are the reading and hearing of the sacred Scriptures, for faith comes by hearing, and how shall we hear unless we are taught, and how shall we be taught without a Teacher? In the first place therefore as we ought to have a holy esteem of his word, so ought we to have a reverent esteem of the faithfull and able dispencers of it, giving them all due incouragement and maintenance, that they may be the better enabled cheerfully to follow that work whereunto they are called, of winning souls unto Christ.

And this is a duty incumbent on the

the Christian Magistrate, who is to use all lawful means to promote Religion, and to restrain prophanesse, for he beareth not the sword in vain, but for terrour of evill doers, and encouragement of those that do well. And here let me not be mistaken, for though I believe it is their duty to punish those grand Traytours against the majesty of Heaven, blasphemers I mean, and all other publick disturbers of the civill peace and quiet of the nation; yet on the other side to force all men to submit to one form, or to be of such or such a general received opinion in every tittle, under penalty of Censures civil and ecclesiastical, I conceive a Tyranny as little to be suffered by the Magistrate,

ſtrate, as it had been for *Saul* to have ſuffered *Nahaſh* the *Ammonite* to put out the right eyes of the *Gilcadites*, for indeed this were to put out both our eyes.

For it is God and none but God that can aſſure us of his own mind, though he do reveal his mind by a creature, there wil be ſome trembſings, and waverings in the ſoul, unleſſe he doth withall ſatisfie the ſoul that ſuch a creature doth communicate his mind truely and really as it is, ſo that ultimately the certainty is reſolved into the voice of God, who is onely to rule his Church αὐτοκρατορικῶς καὶ νομοθετικῶς, by a determining and legiſlative power; Men that are fitted by God are to guide

guide and direct διακριτικῶς καὶ ἑρμηνευτικῶς, in way of subserviency to him, and by an explication of his mind, yet so that every one may judge of this ἰδιωτικῶς καὶ ἀνεργαστικῶς, by acts of their own understanding illuminated by the Spirit of God, for there are no Representatives in spirituals, men may represent the bodies of others in civil and temporal affairs, and thus a bodily obedience is due to a just authority, but there is none can alwayes represent the mind and judgement of another in the vitals and inwards of religion; for as a late Bishop of our own, *ad nudam præscriptionem, aut determinationem alterius sine lumine privati judicii nemo est qui credere potest etiamsi cupiat maximè*; No man

man let him desire it never so much can believe the bare determination of another unlesse his own judgement concur; a truth that condemns the antichristian practices of the rest that were of that order, and *Mirandula* gives the reason of it, for says he, *Nemo credit aliquid verum præcisè quia vult credere illud esse verum, non est enim in potentia hominis facere aliquid apparere intellectui suo verum, quando ipse voluerit:* No man believes a thing because he will believe it, for it is not in the power of man to make a thing appear what he wil to his understanding; and indeed, before there can be faith there must not only be a knowledg of the thing to be believed; but an inclination also of the un-

understanding to assent to it when known; should we not judge that man a Tyrant that should command us to renounce our sense, to believe that to be white that we see to be black, to believe that to be sweeter than honey, that we taste to be bitterer than gaul? what are those then that would force us to disclaim our understandings, and make us believe that to be true, wch we conceive or know to be false? and yet what cruelty in this kind hath been practized by the *Papists*? What by the *Prelates*? What by some that succeeded them, and yet de-cryed it in them? yea what by some of those who will cry out for Liberty of conscience too?

Chap.

CHAP. XIII.

Religion not to be made a Stalking-Horſe to Ambition, or Avarice.

IF any ſhall but queſtion in the leaſt, theſe mens *jus divinum*, preſently they are Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, Sectaries, &c.

If any man ſhall not have the ſame whirligiggs in their pates as the other, or will not aſſent in an inſtant to what ever Chymæra their rambling fancies produce, let them be what they will, Parliament or City, Magiſtrates or private perſons, Teachers or Hearers, preſently pray them down, purge them, they are

are ſelf-ſeekers, Tyrants, Enemies to the Saints, Antichriſtian, and *Baals* Prieſts, and what not, yea ſuch as are to be deſtroyed.

Yet by yout leave furious Saint, you muſt excuſe our diffidence of your tenents, yea and of your Saint-ſhip too, until we perceive more ground for thē, and find a better temper in you; our Lord and Maſter I am ſure hath given us ground to doubt you, and I hope the ſervant is not above the Lord, it will be beſt for us then to obſerve him, When his diſciples would have had fire commanded from heaven, He tels them, ye know not what manner of Spirit you are of, for the Son of Man is not come to deſtroy ſouls but to

ſave

∫ave them ; we know who is *Abaddon*, Απολλυων, the De∫troyer, and it is his badg to be ∫pitting of fire; why is it not as lawfull for us to que∫tion an opinion though it have your ∫tamp and ∫uper∫cription upon it, as it was for the *Bereans* to bring even Apo∫tolical words to the touch-∫tone? Yet were they rewarded by Saint *Paul* with the title of ευγενέστεροι, more noble, an Epithite we cannot find in your Catalogue. But you will ∫ay, they believed, they did indeed, but not hand over head, and ∫o may we when we find the ∫ame Spirit bearing witne∫∫e to your doctrine which did to the Apo∫tles.

But through all your canting-language we do di∫cover your

aimes, indeed out of the abundance of the heart your tongues tellus, you would be popular, great and powerfull, and injoy the fat things of the earth, these only belong to you and your tribe, you are to rule the Nations, to bind their kings in chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron; the old itch of temporal Lordship is wretchedly broke out upon you, your hands are the hands of *Esau*, though your voice be the voice of *Jacob*, your practices are unchristian, though yout profession be sanctity; Christ he promises to make his disciples fishers of men, but you fish for honour, worldly power, and riches for your followers, a bewitching bait to catch poor mortals: we

read

read of the devil tempting our head with the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, but from whom have you Commission thus to tempt his members? Who gave you authority to dispose of worldly powers? Is your Masters kingdom of this world? If it be, we must rank you with those antichristian usurpers, who arrogate to themselves a power above all that is called God: What more doth that man of *Rome*? whom we find bestowing the kingdoms of the world on those that will bow down and worship him, but cursing, deposing, and turning out of office all that refuse to subscribe to his fopperies. Thus we see *Mahomet* not with this load-

ſtone drawing men, but with his Sword conquering them, he drawes his Sword, bids them deliver up their Souls, and upon this condition he will ſpare their lives: *Signa illa quæ Tyrannis et latronibus non deſunt*, what more do Tyrants and Thieves? But ſure the Chriſtian Religion ſtands not in need of ſuch helps, whoſe principles in themſelves are attractive and magnetical, enamouring ſouls, and leading them captive in the ſilken bonds of love with the cords of a man.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The benefit of Humane Learning, with an answer to some objections made against it.

ANother sort there is wrigled in amongst us, who even in print and pulpits publickly bray against learning, endeavouring to seduce people into a belief that humane learning as they call it, is in no measure to be tolerated in a Gospel-Teacher, most wretchedly wresting Scripture to apply those texts against preaching themselves to overthrow it; a fallacie so base that they had need to cry up ignorance left the cheat

ſhould be deſcried: as if learning and preaching themſelves were *termini convertibiles*, the one neceſſarily implying the other; whereas it is commonly quite contrary; it is your Scioliſt, your fellow that hath ſcarce wet his lips in that ſacred fountain, who will be dabling and patching that he may be thought a Scholer, when as the moſt learned men, who are conſcious of their own ſufficiency, ſeldome or never, unleſs upon juſt, and neceſſary occaſions make the leaſt ſhew of it in their publick teaching. The truth of this is verified dayly in our eyes by the continual practice of many learned men amongſt us: Where ſhall we find more powerfull plainneſs, than in the works

works of the learned *Bolton*, to omit the names of the rest, which are so well known to all? thus shall we see your coward, the common Braggadochio, and those the greatest boasters who have the least in them; for such being conscious off their own baseness, endeavour to make others believe them to be brave *Fellows*, which they know themselves not to be, and to make up in shew what they want in reality; whereas your valiant man is still silent, and lets his acts speak for him, knowing according to the proverb, that Good *Wine* needs no *Bush*, and that worth will be taken notice of without proclaiming it at the *Market Cross*.

2. But the *Apostles* were poor

Fishrmen, and the like, altogether unlearned, and therefore the *Gospel Ministers* ought to be so too. O Horrid, Jesuitical, nay Diabolical *Sophistry*! We acknowledge that the only wise *God* in the carrying on of his great and glorious *works* usually makes use of such *instruments*, as seem despicable, and contemptible in the eyes of men, yea such as are altogether unable and unfit to hatch and carry on designs of their own, the more to manifest that it is his *work*, and to shew his strength in their weakness, which, unless supported by *Omnipotency*, would sink under it, as also to leave the *obstinate* without *excuse*: but though these may seem weak, yet are they made mighty through

through the power of God that ſtrengthens them, and are abundantly ſupplyed from above with what gifts and graces ſoever are neceſſary for them: Thus the *Apoſtles* being poor unlearned *Fiſhermen*, and the like, once called, and inveſted with the *Apoſtleſhip*, were endued from above, had the gift of *Tongues*, immediately were taught by the *Holy Ghoſt*: and who dares affirm them *unlearned* then? or deny ſkill in the *tongues* neceſſary for the office of a *Teacher*, which God, who doth nothing in vain, by *Miracle* beſtowed upon them? And what now though they wanted acquired *Learning*, ſo they had it infuſed? and God was pleaſed in that extraordinary time, in an

extraordinary manner to endow them, muſt we therefore now neglect the ordinary means, and tempt God to work a *Miracle* to be able to anſwer a Gainſayer? but let us but conſider how faithful an handmaid *learning* hath been to *religion*; how the *Armor-bearer* hath helped *Jonathan* to deſtroy the *Philiſtimes*; how neceſſary it hath been to maintain *Religion*, and oppoſe *Idolatry*; by the help of *Learning* have the *Miniſtery* of *England* been enabled to defend the *truth*, and oppoſe *errour*, to ward off, and put by the blowes and thruſts of their *Anti-chriſtian* adverſaries, and to ſtrike with the edge, and give them the true point, to the wounding & deſtroying of their

ſu-r

superstitious tenents. Thus we see the learned *Whitacre* disarm their *Goliah*, confute their *Bellarmine*, foyl their chosen *Champion*, unwind the subtil *Jesuite*, trace him through all his *Mæanders*, meet him at every turn, beat him from outwork to outwork, from sconce to sconce, till he hath driven him out of all his strengths, and left him not a lurking hole to hide his head in; when the most that we could expect from a *Dean of Dunstable* could be *Bellarmine* thou lyest, neither shewing sense or reason, but his say so. But it may be said, thank a good cause: yet may the best cause be spoiled by an evil mannaging, and the most bright and shining *truths* be obscured in a dark *Lanthorn*,

yea let them be whiter than *Snow*, they may be ſullied by dirty fingers, and more tranſparent than *glaſs*, yet may be cracked when clumſie fiſts ſhall come to handle them. This the *Jeſuites* know, which hath been the cauſe of this ſtrange attempt, for it is moſt plain by the *poyſon* now vomited, that ſome of thoſe *Serpents* are wriggled in amongſt us; they have tryed our weapons, and to their ſmart know the ſharpneſs of them, no marvel then they endeavour to diſarm us; *Learning* hath kept them out, no wonder then they attempt to introduce *ignorance* the *Mother*, which could they effect, they are aſſured *Popiſh Devotion* the *Daughter* would not be long kept out.

Nei-

Neither can this seem strange unto us, if we but consider their practice in the *Lutheran* Church, where it hath been usual with the *Iesuites* to seem to become *Proselites*, to heighten and continue the *division* between them and the *Calvinists*; or what a late Author of our own, who seems not to be unacquainted of their practices, writes of them, *The Jesuit reckons it in the number of his merits, if he may by any sinister wayes ruffle and disorder Heretical Kingdomes (so he calls them) encourage weak and unstable minds to slight Magistracy, irritate divisions, tumults, rebellions, absolve from oaths, and all sacred tyes; so that its hard to find any tragical scene, or bloody theatre, into which the Jesuite hath not intru-*

intruded, and been as buſie as Davus *in the Comedy, contributing in a very high meaſure to every fanatick inſolence, juſtifying the old lemma of* Loyola's *picture,* Cavete vobis principes: *theſe are the firebrands of* Europe, *the forge, and bellows of Sedition, infernal Emiſſaries, the peſts of the age, men that live as if huge ſins would merit heaven by an antiperiſtaſis.* Concutiunt populos, vexant regna, ſolicitant bella, diruunt Eccleſias.

And it is for certain written from beyond the Seas, that the *Engliſh* Colleges are emptyed, and all thoſe Emiſſaries ſent abroad, whither, unleſs amongſt us?

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

An anſwer to ſome objections againſt learning, in a book entituled, The Saints Guide.

AND the ſame Author goes on, *Nor is any nation without ſome turbulent ſpirits of its own, the diſhonour of the gown, and pulpit, the ſhame, and ſometimes ruin of their Countrey*; one of which hath late ſtarted this queſtion, *Whether or not all that much magnifyed natural reaſon (which we think dignifieth us above, and diſtinguiſheth us from Brutes) and all that humane learning (which we conceive exalts and rectifyeth reaſon) be the fruit of the*

the forbidden tree, and is a ſpurious and adventious faculty, which man wanted in his innocency, and was inſtilled into him by Satan in the fall?

A quæry Satan himſelf might bluſh to put, and yet the Book ſtuffed with this and the like doctrine, is cloathed with the ſpecious title of the *Saints Guide*; the *Wolf* adorns himſelf with the *Lambs* ſkinne, the *Fiend* transforms himſelf into an *Angel* of light: it is not amiſſe to mark the phraſe he reproaches learning in, then how he coucheth his doctrine, laſtly his *Divinity* in theſe words, *which man wanted in his innocency.* Indeed the old *Serpent* told *Eve* that the fruit of the forbidden tree would encreaſe their *Knowledge*, but except

except him, and this *Diſciple* of his, I never found any affirming that man wanted any thing in his *Innocency:* but ſuppoſe this diabolical doctrine true, if man wanted *Learning* before, he much more wãts it ſince the fall; the Author of ſuch ſtuff may well cry out againſt *reaſon* and *Learning.*

But to the queſtion; That *Reaſon* was depraved and darkned by the *fall*, we allow, and that by the help of *learning* it is in ſome meaſure reſtored, we affirm, and ſo conſequently that there had been no need of acquired *learning* had man ſtood, no more would there of *repentance*: but doth it follow therefore, that now vve are fallen, vve ſhould not labour for *repentance?*

Let

Let this fellow go and try whether he can perſwade a man that is fallen into a pit not to endeavour to get out, becauſe getting out is a fruit, and effect of his falling in. Truly ſuch arguing is inſtilled by *Satan*, and ſuch *Sophiſtry* is a baſtardly *faculty* which *ingenuity*, much more *innocency*, is ſo far from wanting, that it abhors and deteſts it. The *Fellow* ſeems to be a Scholer, I ſhall aſk him therefore one queſtion. Is not reaſon the ſpecifical difference of a *man* from a *Beaſt*? and was *man* diſtinguiſhed from a *Beaſt* by the *fall*, or the *Creation*? Did the *Devil* or *God* make him a rational creature? Behold then the horrid *blaſphemy* couched in this query, which would inſinuate

the

the *rational ſoul* to be the *product* of the *Devil*; if this be not a doctrine of *Devils* I know not what is.

Then for his Parentheſis, (*which we think dignifieth us above, and diſtinguiſheth us from Brutes*) if *Reaſon* doth not, what doth? *ſhape* cannot, for ſo one *Beaſt* differs from another: neither is it *Grace*, for then all but *Beaſts* muſt have *Grace:* And for his other (*which we conceive exalts, and rectifies reaſon*) hath not *learning* exalted and rectified his *reaſon* ſo far as to enable him from ſuch and ſuch Premiſſes to draw ſuch a and ſuch a Concluſion, to frame his *Syllogiſms*, to write and utter theſe words, *poſitions*, *conſectaries*, *quæries*, *reſponſions*, *cognition*,

cognition, which his *illiterate* auditors and readers understand no more, than they do him and his drifts? what but *learning* hath set his understanding above theirs, and enabled him to talk at a rate his *ignorant* followers onely can *admire*? Behold then you misled *wretches* what a *Guide* you have got, who when all his *Sophistry*, and abuse of his own *reason* and *learning*, all his *Logick* and *Syllogisms* are unable to overthrow *reason* and *learning*, goes about by his *queries* to undermine them; who, when all his *impudency* dares not affirm, and all his ability cannot prove, endeavors by way off doubt to instill his *poison*, upon hopes that you will swallow & take for granted whatever drops

drops from him: what is it you admire in this *Fellow*, is it his railing againſt *learning* in others? doth he not make uſe of it himſelf? he diſputes *Syllogiſtically*, he is frequent in *diviſion*, abounds in ſubtill and ſophiſtical *diſtinctions*, talks hard words, rattles out *Latine*, nay there is not one *Arrow* in his quiver but is feathered with feathers plucked from *learnings* wing, nor is he able to ſpeak or write, or you to read or underſtand one ſyllable, word or ſentence againſt *Learning*, but by its aſſiſtance. Could you have read, could you have wrote, could you have underſtood one word had you not been taught? why theſe are degrees of *learning*; awake and behold the *cheat*, which would make

make you enemies even to that *image* of *God* which is imprinted on you, level you with *Brutes* nay make you such: you see it is reason that distinguisheth a *man* from a *Beast*, it is learning that improves *reason*, be not afraid of being *rational*; this *Caytiff* would deprive you of your *humanity*, that he might the easier destroy your *Christianity*; rob you of your *reason*, to bob you of your *religion*: For if he be not a very *Jesuite*, yet is he the likest one that ever I met with; if the tree may be judged by the fruits, his acts will aloud proclaim him a notorious juggler: and first behold how he cheats you in stating the *question*, for it is not whether by the help of humane learning a man

man may attain a saving knowledge to himself, whether he can save his own *soul*; but whether he may not attain to such a knowledge as may enable him to hold out the way of *Salvation* unto others: and that a man may do this, not only too too frequent *examples* do make out, but the Apostle himself tells us in the 1 Cor. 9. 27. *But I keep under my body, and keep it in subjection; lest that by any means, when I have preached unto others, I my self should be a cast away*; a man may preach to others, and yet be himself a *cast away*: for this wretch dares not affirm that the *Apostle* inspired by the *Spirit* of *God* would suppose an *impossibility*: and the example of *Judas* clearly shewes that a man may

may have an outward call to teach, and yet be a reprobate; was not he one of the *twelve* that was sent to *preach the Kingdome of God, and to heal the sick?* Luk. 9. 1, 2. also the *Apostle* in the 2 Tim. 3. 5. speaks of some, *having a form of Godliness, creeping into houses, leading captive silly women laden with infirmities*: These *Hypocrites* by the help of *learning* and *parts* could pray as devoutly, talk as holily, wrest the *Scriptures* as dexterously, cogging the dy, making the word speak what they list, craftily applying it, having all the arts and methodes of *consenage*, even as he himself; yet were they not taught of *God*; it is cleer therfore that *learning* and *parts per se ex propria natura* can understand

and

and so apprehend the mystery of the *Gospel*, as to hold it out so to others, that the hearers cannot discern by the teaching an *Hypocrite from a true Believer*, notwithstanding all his *Positions*. You may behold also how finely the holy text is wrested by him to no purpose in his following Arguments, for unless he prove that a man by the help of *learning* cannot attain to such a *Knowledge* as to be able to make an outward profession, he proves nothing.

And that this *Sophistry* is malicious, not ignorant, his answering two objections will fully clear.

Object. 1. *That though humane learning be an enemy to the law of God while it is in an unsanctified*

ctified heart, yet when the heart is truly turned to God, then it becomes a ſanctifyed inſtrument, and a good handmaid to Theology.

Solution. To this he anſwers, - *That though the heart be truly ſanctified, in which humane learning doth inhere as in its ſubject, yet doth it not follow that learning it ſelf is, no more than ſin can be ſaid to be ſanctified, though the heart of a ſinful man may be truly ſaid to be ſanctifyed: for acquired learning of it ſelf, and of its own nature, is nothing elſe but ſin, and therefore remains ſo ſtill, and cannot be truly nor properly ſaid to be ſanctifyed, no more than ſin. But if by being ſanctified, they mean that the providential wiſdome of God doth order it,*

it, or make use of it for the good of his people, I oppose it not, so that it be understood, that that good flowes not from the nature of acquired knowledge it self, but from the wisdome and goodness of the Spirit of God, who maketh all things work together for the benefit of those that love him, who are called according to his purpose, and so no more can properly in this respect be predicated of it than of sin it self, which in that case (though not as an entity, for non entia ad modum entium concipiuntur *) is said also to work for the good of Gods Saints.*

First to this we say, that the *habit* of *sin* is destroyed, there is a *mortification* of *sin*, as well as a *vivification* of *grace*, as *Rom.* 6. 2. *How shall we that are dead to*

ſin, live any longer therein? and Epheſ. 2. 1. *You hath he quickned who were dead in treſpaſſes and ſins.* Now the habit of *learning* is not in the leaſt diminiſhed, much leſs deſtroyed.

Secondly, That the whole man with all his endowments is ſanctified, as 1 *Theſ.* 5. 23, 24. *And the very God of peace ſanctify you wholly, and I pray God your whole ſpirit, and ſoul, and body, be preſerved blameleſs unto the coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Faithful is he that calleth you, who alſo will do it.* Now then, either *learning* muſt be ſanctified, or ſomething remains unſanctified.

Thirdly, That acquired *learning*, of it ſelf, and of its own nature is not *ſin*, for *ſin* is a

tranſgreſſion

tranſgreſſion of the *Law*, 1 *John* 3. 4. verſe, *For ſin is the tranſgreſſion of the Law*, ἁμαρτία ἐστιν ἀνομία. Now what *Law* forbiddeth *learning*? where is it written *Thou ſhalt not be learned*? and ſure were learning either in it ſelf *ſin*, or left unſanctified in a ſanctified heart, we ſhould not find the *Apoſtle Paul* giving thanks for it in 1 Cor. 14. 18. *I thank my God I ſpeak with tongues more than you all*: and the holy *Ghoſt* deſcribing *Apollos* leaves him upon record to be an *eloquent man* Ἀνὴρ λόγιος, the word uſually is taken for a learned man; and ſee what followes, *He helped them much which believed, for he mightily convinced the Iewes*, ἐυτόνως, which the learned *Beza* in his Annotations ren-

ders, *Magna cum contentione*, and he gives the reaſon of it, *Uti volui hac perphraſi ut Græci vocabuli emphaſin ſervarem, quo ſignificatur eloquentem hunc hominem omnes (quod aiunt) nervos revincendis Iudæis contendiſſe*, I have uſed this periphraſis, that I might preſerve the emphaſis of the *Greek* word, by which is ſignified that this eloquent man employed the utmoſt of his abilities to convince the Jews. Behold then what *Divinity* your *Doctor* teaches, who is not onely content to bely *learning*, but *ſanctification*, making *the holy Spirit* work by halves; and as he plaies the *Knave* here, ſo in the latter part he plaies the *Fool*, fighting with his own *ſhadow*, and keeping a coil about nothing

thing, for the very objection, as he himſelf hath put it, aſſerts the good to flow from the *ſanctification* of *learning*, not from its own *nature*, it makes it a handmaid, and ſo does he; untill he comes to his Concluſion, which how true it is, as it ſufficiently appears by what is ſaid, yet will be more manifeſt if we conſider *learning* in it ſelf to be *indifferent* either *good* or *evil*, according as it is uſed or abuſed, now is *ſin* ſo? Suppoſe a man ſhall make the *glory* of *God* his onely *end* in his attaining *learning*, that thereby he may be better enabled to read, converſe, diſpute, and ſpeak concerning the *myſteries* of *Salvation* (for could he have written or ſpoken as he doth without it, unleſs by help

of

of a miracle?) will he affirm this *learning* to be sin? is the *Physical act* sinful, or doth the *moral circumstance* cloath it with *good* or *evil*? Something more then may be predicated of *learning* than of *sinne*, which cannot be conceived in any other *notion* than of *sin*.

Object. 2. *Again, if it be objected, that though learning be not effectual to the understanding of the mystery of the Gospel, yet it is prealent to the compleating of the literal and historical knowledge thereof*: Take this here, that these objections are of his own cloathing, the terms are his own.

Solution. To this he answers. *Though it may conduce to the gaining of literal, and histori-*

call

call knowledge, yet this is not ad idem, *because it profiteth nothing; For truth it self bears record, It is the Spirit that quickneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; and men are made able Ministers of the New Testament, not of the Letter, but of the Spirit; For the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life. So that all literal and historical knowledge gained by mans power, is but like the principle from whence it flowed, fleshly, earthly, deadly, and destructive.*

To this we say, that what he saith here against *learning*, may as well be said against reading, *teaching*, and *hearing*, there must be fit and outward *Organs*, there must be *eyes*, *a tongue*, and *eares*, and these must have a *body* to subsist; is all *reading*, *hearing*,

and *teaching* therefore like the *principle* from whence they flow, *fleshly*, *earthly*, *deadly*, and *destructive*? Behold then whether these Scriptures are wrested or no? do you think they are to be understood to condemn all outward means, or onely to shew that *outward means* without the inward *assistance* and *operation* of the *Spirit* cooperating with them were unable to beget saving *grace* in a *soul*? do you conceive the *Spirit* of God in them disallowes all *reading*, *teaching*, *hearing*, or only forbids to put such a confidence in them as to esteem them able in themselves to confer *eternal life* upon us? Besides, i that place in the *Corinths*, the *letter* signifies the *Law*, of which *Moses* was a

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Minister, the *Spirit* the *Gospell*, which *Christ* brought and delivered to his *Apostles* and *Ministers*; for lōok but into the chapter and you shall see the scope of the *Apostle* is to advance the *Ministery* of the *Gospel* above the *Ministery* of the *Law*: was not this rightly applied then against learning? can you imagine he himself can think them to mean what he puts upon them? but I leave him, and so I hope will you; yet I could wish some able pen would take him task, and [illegible] the Impostor.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The abuse of Learning no argument against the use of it.

But as this fellow cries down, so are there others which too much cry up *learning*, who will entail the *gift* of *teaching* upon it, and allow none to teach but an *University Graduate*; which is no other than put bounds to *God*, to limit the holy *Spirit*, hither and no farther shalt thou go; but because these men idolize it, must we execrate and abhor it? because the *Persians* adored the *Sun*, must we *Christians* refuse the *comfort* of its *light* and *heat*? in thus doing

ing we run as far out of the way on the one hand, as they do on the other.

Let them consider how many under the light of the *Gospel* furnish'd with the helps of humane *learning* are strangely unacquainted with the knowledg of Christ crucified; a plain experienced Christian (notwithstanding their Auxiliary forces) only by the help of a Bible, will put a whole Army to flight; *Surgunt indocti et rapiunt cœlum*, when they in the mean time do but, as he speaks, *ornare Diabolum*; they become learned spoiles, *Sapienter descendunt in infernum*, they go cunningly to Hell. And then on the other side let not us be so silly and malicious as to put the fault in *learning*, whereas there

there is no greater *vicinity* than between *truth* and *goodneſs*; *heaven* is full of *knowledge*, as it is of *holineſs*; and it is brimfull of both: if ſome will not make a right uſe, or will abuſe their learning, muſt *learning* ſuffer? can there be a more groſs abuſe than, as, *Iſocrates* ſpeaks, τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα μεταφέρειν, 'to lay the blame on the thing, not the man? ſome men with weapons commit *murders* and *outrages*, ſhall not others therefore have any for their own neceſſary and juſt defence? ſome make themſelves *drunk*, may not others therefore *drink* to maintain life, and to comfort and chear the *heart*? *Noah* was drunk with *wine*, ſhall not *Timothy* therefore drink

drink a little *for his ſtomachs ſake, and his often infirmities?* 1 *Tim.* 5. 23. a ſubtil Jeſuiticall *Knave wreſts Scripture*, may not a *Miniſter* of the *Goſpel* therefore quote it? The firſt abuſes his *learning* to pervert, and deſtroy, ſhall not the ſecond make uſe of his to inſtruct, and edifie? Upon this account all things might be condemned, even *profeſſion* it ſelf, and all religious duties, which have been by ſome abuſed, and prophaned.

CHAP.

Chap. XVII.

The Miſchief of Ignorance.

THeſe things thus weighed, will not the *improvement* of *nature* beautified & adorned with ſupernatural *grace* make men more ſerviceable, and inſtrumental for *Gods* glory? when the ſtrength of *learning*, and the *power* of *Godlineſs* unite and concentricate their forces, will they not make up the fineſt and pureſt *complexion*, the ſoundeſt and braveſt *conſtitution*, like a ſparkling and vigorous *ſoul*, quickning and informing a beautiful body? can Religion deſire to ſhine with greater gloſs and

and luſtre, can it deſire to ride among men in greater pomp and ſolemnity, in a more tryumphant Charriot than in a *ſoul* of vaſt intellectualls? let us but conſider our poor ignorant and unlearned *Anceſtors*, with yellings, and howlings, with the horrid noiſe of brazen and copper pans and bazons hammered on and beaten, endeavouring to help the *Moon* in the eccliplſe, whom they thought they did great ſervice to; and whence proceeded this but from ignorance of the natural cauſe? what prayers, what ſacrifices did an eccliplſe of the *Sun* produce? all preſently ſuppoſing he hid his face for anger, as the Poets report he did at *Atreus* his banquet, ——*Verterit curſus licet ſibi ipſe*

ipſe Titan, obvium ducens iter, tenebriſque facinus obruit tetrum novis, nox miſſa ab ortu tempore alieno gravis. *Seneca, Thyeſtes*, and they in danger of an eternal night, and not only be, as one ſpeaks notably of the *Suns* adorers, ἄθεοι κατὰ νυκτὸς, without their God by night, but for ever: and indeed what advantage did the Devill make of ignorance in the time of Popery? What a quarter did he keep with his Hobgoblins, and Fairies? O, darkneſs is his delight in the underſtanding as well as in the air, and doth it not lay men more open to his temptations? what a tryumph would the *Prince* of darkneſs lead could he get us all into his livery? This *Plutarch* an heathen could perceive,

Knowledge

Knowledge, ſaith he, frees men from that ſuperſtition, which frights, diſturbs, and entangles with ſiniſter conceits of the Deity, others, who are ignorant of the natural cauſes of things, and in its place induces a ſecure piety, and holy confidence in the Divine power; and he inſtances in the head of a *Ram* with one horn growing in the midſt of the front brought to *Pericles*, which when the Southſayers converted to an *Omen*, *Anaxagoras* the Philoſopher diſſecting the ſcull ſhewed it empty on the ſides, and the brains lying in the midſt in an oval form juſt where the horn took root, cleerly convincing them of the natural cauſe.

Let

Let us consider how a poor Bishop was degraded by a whole Council, and the Popes infallible Worship too boot, for writing and maintaining that there were *Antipodes*, people inhabiting the other side of the Worldly Globe, a thing known to every ship-boy in *Wapping*: and what will nothing serve our turns but a herd of such Teachers? a drove of such Doctors that may bring us in one age to a degree above bleating to be as far from understanding, as they from being able to speak sense? when a *Dutch Sophister* with this doughty fallacy, *The Scripture commands us to reverence and obey our Elders, but the* Dutch *State is the elder State, therefore the Scripture commands the*

the Engliſh *State to reverence and obey the* Dutch; Or, *Aſſes have eares*, Engliſhmen *have eares*, *therefore* Engliſhmen *are Aſſes*, ſhall puzzle our whole nation, and none be able to anſwer him, unleſs by down-right telling him he lyes, & ſo inſtead of confuting, confirm him in his wild aſſertions.

Laſtly, Let us conſider with what impatience we would hear a man that went about to perſwade us to burn our ſhips, break our *Guns*, deſtroy all our *Arms* and *Weapons*, and lay our ſelves naked to the invaſion and rapine of any forein enemy; and ſhall we not with the ſame diſdain and abhorrency behold theſe pedling Truckers under Satan, who would diſarm our ſouls,

ſouls, proſtitute our underſtandings to the luſt of every ſubtill *Sophiſter*, make us like to the Horſe and Mule which want underſtanding, ready to take the Bit into our mouths to be rid by each deceiver, and to crowch down under the burdens which every ſly and cunning Knave ſhall pleaſe to load us with? do we ſo much deteſt the ſlavery of our bodies, and ſhall we not abhor to ſee our ſouls led captive, our underſtandings drawn in ſhackles after the triumphant Chariot of every *Impoſtor*? our Lord and Savior teaches us, that though a man both ſtrong and armed keep the houſe, yet if a ſtronger than he come, he will enter and take poſſeſſion; theſe Imps of the Deſtroyer ſuggeſt, that

that the Lame and Blind are only fit Garriſon Souldiers for the ſtrong holds of the *New Jeruſalem*, as if Religion were the *Capitol* that onely *Geeſe* muſt defend; alas, had there not been a *Manlius* and other valiant and armed *Romans*, the *Gauls* could not have been kept out by their cackling. Thus much for learning, as it is uſeful in religion, what advantage it is of to the Civil State ſhall be diſcourſed of hereafter in its proper place.

CHAP.

Chap. XVIII.

Of Moral vertue in general.

BEfore we proceed further, it will not be amiſs to conſider *Moral vertue* in the general, as of good conducement to our better underſtanding of the *particular vertues* which follow in order to be treated of in our ſubſequent diſcourſe, and to our eaſier attaining and imbracing them in our future practice.

And firſt of the *Name*; the *Greeks* according to ſome denominated it Ἀρετὴ ἀπὸ τῦ Ἄρεως from *Mars* their *God of War*, because in *War* the efficacy of *vertue* ſeemed moſt perſpicuous. O

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thers fetch its derivation ἀπὸ τῆς ἀιρεῖσθαι, from choosing, because vertue is above all things to be chosen. The *Latines* called it *virtus* a *vir* which antiently was solie applyed to a *valiant man*; thus *Cicero in offic. Nomen virtutis, inquit, antiquitus solius fuit fortitudinis*, Vertue, saith he, was the badge heretofore onely of *Fortitude*. But since *experience* teaching that man was not only to strive with man, to combate the Common enemy, but also with his own disorderly *affections* easily misled by the *allurements* of *riches*, *delights*, and *preferment*, it became the *tryumphant Ornament* of those that were victorious over themselves and these *temptations*, which indeed is the more noble *conquest*

queſt, and moſt manly, as performed by the force of *reaſon*, the weapon only man can uſe. Laſtly there are ſome, who not unpleaſantly alluding will have it tearmed *virtus*, *quaſi viri artus*, as it were the *joints* and *lineaments* of the *mind*.

Now as the *name* hath been diverſly derived, ſo hath the *Thing* been variouſly applyed.

As firſt, to ſignify in general the *power* and *perfection* of any thing, hence we often meet with theſe and the like phraſes in *Engliſh*, *By vertue of Gods power*, *wiſdome*, *omniſcience*; by vertue of the *Soul*, of the *Heavens*, of the *Elements*, of ſuch or ſuch a *plant*, *mineral*, or living creature.

Secondly, to denote promiſcuouſly

euonſly all *habits* as well *infuſed* as *acquired*, thus we ſay by vertue of *Grace*, *faith*, &c.

Thirdly, it is taken for a natural *inclination* or *diſpoſition*: thus *Ariſtotle* in 6. *Ethic. cap. ult.* we poſſeſs *vertue* by *nature*, and by *nature we are temperate* and *valiant*. Laſtly, it is moſt properly taken for an *habit* of the *mind*, acquired by uſe and frequent exerciſe, and thus we are to accept it as *an habit ruling the will and appetite of man, and conforming and compoſing his manners for the help and ornament of humane ſociety*.

And now having viewed it in the groſs, let us a little deſcend to take it in pieces, wherby the true nature of it will be more plainly underſtood. The

nus is an *habit*, and we prov
its *lineage* by its *Coat Armour*
Plutarch de virtut. moral. τρί
ταῦτα περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπαρχει, δύναμις
πάθος καὶ ἕξις, ἡ μὲν δύναμις ἀρχὴ κα
ὕλη τῶ παθυς τὸ δὲ πάθος κίκ ησίς τι
τῆς δυνάμεως ἡ δὲ ἕξις ἰσχὺς καὶ κατας
χευὴ ἐξ ἔθυς ἐγγινομενὴ. There are
ſaith he, three things in th
mind, the *faculty*, the *affection*
and the *habit*; the *faculty* is th
principle and matter of the *af*
fection; the *affection* is a cer
tain motion of the *faculty*: bu
the *habit* is the ſtrength an
conformity of the *faculty* gotte
by *cuſtome*. Now vertue bein
to be reduced under one o
theſe heads, we muſt examin t
which it doth conform it ſelf.
By vertue men are accounte
good, as by *vice bad*; but by th

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faculties which are natural and bear themſelves in an indifferent poſture to this or that; and by the affections by which we are only moved, and become not, neither are accounted ſuch or ſuch, we can neither be termed good or bad; it remains then that the habit gives the denomination, and that vertue is an habit, and ſo *Ariſtotle l.2.ethic. cap. 6.* defines it to be ἕξις προαιρετικὴ ἐν μεσότητι οὖσα τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡρισμένῳ λόγῳ, καὶ ᾧ ἂν ὁ φρόνιμος ὁρίσειε.

The *difference* muſt be fetched from the *matter* and *form*; now the *matter* is the *ſubject* and *object*, for no other matter can be attributed to *Accidents*; the *ſubject* is the *will* and *appetite*, the *internal object*, are the

affections, and *actions* ſpringing from thoſe *affections*; the *external objects* are the perſons toward which, and the *things* in which *vertue* is exerciſed. The *form* is a *Mediocrity* or meanto be obſerved in all our affections and actions which *exces* renders violent, *defect* lame and imperfect.

Now *vertue* conſiſts in *indiviſibili medio*, in an individual mediocrity; τὸ μὲν γὰρ καλοῦ θεῖν, μοναχῶς ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ἁμαρτάνειν, πολλαχῶς. for there is but one path leads to *vertue*, but to *vice* many. το μὲν ἀγαθὸν μονοειδές, το δὲ κακὸν πολυειδές. For *Good* is ſingle, *evill* of many ſhapes; yet is this *indiviſibility* not to be taken in a *Mathematical*, but a *Moral* conſtruction, which admits of ſome

∫ome *Latitude*, for its the prudent admonition of ∫ome eminent *Moraliſts*, *Parum deflectere à medio in excedendo, vel deficiendo, non eſt vitium ſemper exiſtimandum; cum medii quædam ſit latitudo, intra quam ſe continentes bene agunt*, a ſmall declining from the mean either on the right or left is not alwaies to be accounted vice, ſith there is a certain latitude in mediocritie, within the limits of which, men containing themſelves act well. Thus a valiant man by the ſmart and ſight of his wounds may be tranſported with anger and thirſt of revenge, yet it being in the lawfull and juſt defence of himſelf and Countrey, a reſolute and eager charge will be

no excesse from true fortitude
and for the other extreme we
have a noble example in the
Roman Consul Catulus, who when
he could not perswade the
greatest part of his Army to a-
bide in their Camp, being terri
fied with the approach of the
Cimbrians, commanded the
Eagle, the *Roman Standart*, to be
advanced, and marcht away
himself in the head of them,
that they might appear rather
to follow than desert their *Ge-
neral*. Here he forsook his
Camp, and those resolute Soul-
diers that staid to defend it, for
fear lest the body of his Army
who would go should be utter-
ly disheartned, and being pub-
lickly branded with deserting
the *Consul*, might set light by
their

their fame already blaſted, and ſo the *Commonwealth* then threatned might be greatly endangered by the loſs of ſuch an *Army*, which would either have diſbanded, or fought untowardly.

And to come cloſer, vertue is not ἀπάθειαν ἠρεμία, an abſolute calm without the leaſt perturbation, but συμμετρία, a *Symmetry* of the *affections* regulated by meaſure, ſquared by the golden rule of *Mediocrity*.

And as there is a *latitude* to be conſidered, ſo is the *proportion* which is *Geometrical*, not *Arithmetical*; it is *medium rationis*, *non rei*: for vertue doth not equally differ from its extremes, as ſix doth from two and ten, as for example, *Libera-*

lity comes nearer to *prodigality* than *covetousness*.

Yet the attaining this *mediocrity* being a thing of the greatest *difficulty*, for as it is easie to be angry, so is it hard to be angry with these necessary *circumstances*, *with whom*, *how far*, *when*, *wherefore*, and in *what manner* we *ought*, it will much avail us to take these helps, laid down by all or the most experienced *Moralists*.

First, let us endeavour to shun that extreme which seems most contrary to vertue; yet here must be care taken lest by endeavouring to avoid one we run into the other extremity according to that,

Dum vitant stulti vitia in contraria currunt.

And

And, *Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim.*

Thus as the Nymph *Calypso* instructs *Ulisses* being to sail between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, two dangerous rocks in the *Sicilian* Sea, rather to avoid *Charybdis* as the more dangerous, but yet still to have an eye to *Scylla*: *Homer* 12. *Odyss.* So we must avoid that *extreme* which is most oppofit to *vertue* as more destructive, yet with care of the other too: *Superstition* is liker *Piety* than *Atheism*, we had better therefore be a little too tender, than to make no scruple, a little too *formal*, than openly *prophane*, here the excess is less contrary; but here again the defect, for *abstemionsness* altogether to forbear *wine* is more

like *Temperance* then *drunkennes*, and this our *Reason* will instruct us to judge of. Yet the *Prudent* perswade for the most part to avoid the *excess*, as of more difficulty to be shaken off: and indeed it would be more facile to bring an *abstemious* person to a moderate use of *Wine* for his health sake, than to disswade a *drunkard* from his *tipple* though his health, nay life lay at stake; and of this opinion is *Cicero in* 1. *de Orat. Suus cuique modus est, inquit, tamen magis offendit nimium, quam parum.* There is a measure to be had in every thing, saith he, yet excess is the greater offender of the two: and where we find one voluntarily starving himself, we shall meet with thousands destroyed by

by surfetting.

Secondly, Let us strive to avoid that *extreme* which we are most enclined to by our natural *Temper*; as if we are covetously enclind, let us endeavour rather to be a little too profuse, and so by degrees we may become *liberal*. Πολὺ γὰρ ἀπαγόντες τῦ ἁμαρτάνειν, εἰς τὸ μέσον ἥξομεν. This *Aristotle* illustrates by an apt *simile* of streightning a stick: for he that will make a stick streight must do it by bending it to the contrary side.

Thirdly, we must in every action be very suspicious of that which seems to entice with the alluring bait of pleasure, and this *Aristotle* confirms by an argument drawn from the pernicious.

cious effect of pleasure. And thus *Cicero in Catone. Impedit consilium voluptas rationi inimica et mentis oculos perstringit.* Pleasure, saith he, that foe to reason, lays a bar in judgements way, and dazzles the eye of the understanding. And again in 2. *lib. offic. Voluptates blandissimæ dominæ sæpe majores partes animæ à virtute detorquent*; Those flattering Mistresses, Pleasures, do often enveagle and draw the nobler parts of the soul from the practise of vertue, and *Seneca* in *Epist.* 28. *Quis Hostis in quenquam ita contumelioſus fuit, quam in quosdam voluptates suæ?* No professed enemy hath been so injurious and spitefull, hath wrought a man so much disgrace, as their own pleasures, their

their boſom delights have done to many, one *Dalilah* hath been more powerful to captivate a *Sampſon*, than all the Lords, than all the thouſands among the *Philiſtimes*.

And as a help we ſhall adde this, That propoſing the moſt ſublime, and heroical Patterns of *vertue* for our imitation, we ſhall the leſs ſquare our actions by the crooked and deceitful rule of *Pleaſure*.

He that ſhall make *Cicero* his example ſhall never become a *Cataline*: nor ſhall the admirer of a ſtudious and contemplative *Athenian*, of a couragious and active *Lacædemonian*, incur the infamy and effeminacie of a delicate *Sybarite*, or a diſſolved *Perſian*: thus when the glo-

ry

ry of *Miltiades* once disturbed the sleep of *Themistocles*, when his victory at *Marathon* had made a conquest also over the others debauchery at *Athens*; you see how soon he broke those silken cords of pleasure, wherein he was noos'd, and the sense of *honour* having set an *edge* upon his affections, he soon cut that *Gordion* knot, whereby he became first victorious over himself, and after over *Asia*; I mean the numerous *Persian* with the strength of *Asia* then invading *Greece*, and of a dissolute young man, became the most famous *Captain* in his time *Greece* could boast of; of such efficacy is a noble *example*. Whereas on the contrary, as *Cicero* in *Lelio*, *Nihil altum*, *nihil magnificum*

ficum; nihil divinum ſuſcipere poſſunt, qui ſuas cogitationes abjecerunt in rem humilem et abjectam. The latter phraſe is very emphatical; he that trifles away his thoughts in a low, and abject contemplation, ſhall never come to be fit for any high, any noble, any heroick undertaking. Thus the muck worm that pores upon the ground continually will never arrive to the liberal ſcience of *Aſtronomy*; aud we cannot but ſuppoſe that he ſhall ſhoot neerer *Heaven* who takes his aim at a *ſtar*, than he that levels at a *Gloworm*.

The *efficient cauſe* of vertue is *cuſtome*; which is the genuine Parent of an habit; thus when we ſee a man wallow in vice, we

ſay

ſay he is habituated to it, yet have there been ſome who have endeavoured to alter this *Pedegree*, and to engraft this excellent *Cien* on another ſtock.

Galen a Phyſician, would bring it under his cure, and place it within the verge of his art, and could he do it, it would be no ſmal addition to his calling, both in reſpect of honour, and profit; which would abound in admirers, and never want patients: how neceſſary would the *Phyſician* be to the *Body Politick* as well as natural, could he rectify and purge the manners, as well as the humours, and not only help men to live, but to live well? O the ſacred power of that *Phyſick*, which could purge

out

out *vice*, and be a cordiall to vertue! thou hast a fragrancy beyond the ointment of the *Apothecary*; whose *shop* alas cannot be the *cradle* of *vertue*, neither can all his compounds compose the affections, all his distillations instill vertue, all his *essences* and *spirits* quicken that noble heat in the soul, it is beyond the power of *Chymistry* to extract this habit, or to resolve corrupted nature into its first principle of purity. Shew me that *Doctor* that can by his *Physick* make the *cholerike* man *meek*, the *Coward*, *valiant*, or the *corrupt*, *Just*; and let him enjoy the deity of *Æsculapius*, and his ruined *Shrines* be repaired for his service. I confess they can make the *Miser* open his

his fiſt, and ſcatter his *Angells*, when he is terrifyed with the dreadful apparition of death. This wretch, contrary to all others, who hold faſteſt when in danger of drowning, unclutching his gripe when he is ſinking into the grave, and parting with his *Mammon*, his beloved Deity ſo long adored by him, when the *Devil* appears ready to ceize him. But this is but like the *Cowards* winking and laying about him when there is no remedy but fight or dy, like *Damætas* in the noble and ingenuous *Sydney*, who when the Sea would let him run no further, turnd, & had the hap to have his adverſary cry quarter firſt; and the one is as far from being *liberal*, as the other *valiant*.

Thus

Thus it ſeems, making for his profeſſion, *Gallen* attempts to cry up his own *Diana*, and on *Nature* beget a Sire for *vertue*, for he will have it ſpring from a *Temperament* of the *Body*; but though this may encline, yet doth it not neceſſarily draw men to vertue.

1. For we often ſee *manners* changed, the *temperament* remaining the ſame, as in the example of *Themiſtocles*; and the *temper* changed, the *manners* continuing, for in the life of *Marius* we read, that though he was both old, groſs, and corpulent, yet did he daily in publick exerciſe himſelf in arms among the young men, endeavoring to make his body active and nimble whether *nature* would

would or no: yea so fiery and young was his *ambition* that the chill froast of age which had made his head hoary could not nip it, and such a thirst after honour burned within him, that six *Consulships* adorn'd with the most splendid *triumphs* could not quench it, but his aspiring *soul* would have drawn his unweldie *body* craz'd with age, and loaden with *honour*, after it into *Pontus*, whether he eagerly sought to be sent Commander in chief against *Mithridates*; yea upon his death bed when he was *light headed*, fancying he was warring against *Mithridates*, he would often use such postures, and motions of the body, as became a *General*, backed with a loud, and

milita-

military clamour: Alas poor man! as if one ſprig of *Laurel* could have given thee content, which in a whole *Grove* thou couldſt not find, though ſpringing from thine own conqueſts.

2. Again the temper is not in our power, *manners* are, for if they were not, to what purpoſe would deliberation, counſel, exhortation, praiſe, reproof, laws, rewards, puniſhments be? it is evident then that the *Temperament* is not the proximate and chief cauſe of *vertue*.

Secondly, And as *Gallen*, ſo the *Stoicks* make *Nature* the cauſe of *vertue*, which they hold born with man, but *vice* contrary to *Nature* and acquired by evil

evil cuſtom. So that they themſelves will have *cuſtome* the cauſe of the acquired *habit* of *vice*, which grants our *Tenent*, for having proved *vertue* to be a *habit* acquired, not an innate *faculty*, it muſt be the product of *cuſtome*. Beſides, whatever is *natural* is *immoveable*, but *manners* are mutable, as in the before recited example of *Themiſtocles*, and how often have our eyes ſeen young men of very promiſing beginnings debauched by evil company, to fall from that bright *Orb of vertue*, in which had they been placed by nature they would have been fixed *ſtars*?

Thirdly, Some there are that aſcribe *vertues* original to *education*, and *breeding*, and in de

deed this is very much conducing to beget the first acts of *vertue*, and to put youth in the right road to come to it, but it is not of force to creat the *habit*: for how many do we behold excellently initiated in this sacred *mystery* by a good *Tutorage*, which when they come to have the reigns layd in their necks, gallop down hill, and break the neck of all those goodly expectations? for the best instilled precepts though they may sometimes check, yet are they not of force to stop the carreer of the headstrong affections, and many are there, who can give good counsel to others, which they cannot or will not follow themselves. But let me not be misunderstood

understood, for though we do not allow *education* to be the *proximate* and *adæquate*, yet shall we not deny it to be a *remote cause*, which by entering men in vertues path, which gon on in will bring to the habit, may be said to lay the foundation to this glorious *Fabrick*. And thus though we cannot in *justice* conferre the *Crown* as to have reached the *Goal*, yet let it carry the *prize* for the first *start*; though we must deny it the *tryumph* due to an absolute victory, yet shall we put the *murall Crown* on its head, for having first mounted the *Wall*, and first erected *vertues Ensign* upon the *Battlements*. Let it then not be neglected, but of all receive its due esteem, as the most excellent

excellent *Trayner* up of youth, the moſt noble *File-leader*, who well followed conducts to victory, that happy *victory* which will render us *invincible*, place us above the reach of any *enemy*, carry us out of *Fortunes gun-ſhot*.

Now the reſt enjoying what is their own, let us give *Cuſtom* its due, which is to be the *efficient cauſe* of *vertue*, enabling men by an often *repetition* of ſuch or ſuch a vertuous *action*, to a ready and unperturbed performing it upon occaſion; for to deſcend a little in a *ſimile*, how come your *Artificers* to become excellent, unleſs by often *practice*, or your *Souldier* to be expert, but by *exerciſes* and it is a *maxim* amongſt military men, that a man never ſo well

verſed in *ſpeculation*, who hath all the *arts* and *ſtratagems* of the moſt renowned *Captains* at his fingers ends, yet at the firſt ſkirmiſh will be to ſeek; and can we think the repugnancies within are leſs diſturbing than *enemies* without, and require not a *mind* as well experienced to reſiſt and quell them? To ſum up all the *Etymon* of the word ἠθικη *Moral*, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθους, derived from the word which ſignifieth *cuſtome*, may confirm us that it hath its original from the thing from whoſe name it derives its denomination. For it would be no more a *Solœciſm* in ſpeech to call the Son of *Van Trump* an Engliſh man, than that *moral* or *cuſtomary vertue*, which is ſprung from the loins of *Tempe-*

ra-

rament, *Nature* or *Education*.

But now to prescribe a set number, to tell how many acts go to the making up an habit, is impossible; for 1. fewer or more are requisite, accordingly as the mind is less or more enclin'd to *vertue*. 2. Some acts are more powerful, others less valid. 3. Attention makes large amends for number, whose worth, by way of exchange, may viewith hundreds, and, when put in the scale, far outweigh them. Neither let any of us fear to overdo, to act vertuously too often.

The external causes of *vertue* are the *examples* of others, as in the before-named *example* of *Miltiades* and *Themistocles*; and *rewards* and *punishments*, as we shall shew more fully in their

proper place.

The *end* of *vertue*, is *bonum civile*, the common good, the general intereſt of mankind, and this muſt needs be lovely in all our eyes, ἀγαπητὸν δὲ ἔνι θεῖον δὲ ἔθνει, ſaith the *Philoſopher*, it is honourable to do good to one, to a nation heroical; it is neer of kin to *divinity* for a man to be able to contribute towards the welfare of his whole *ſpecies*: and *Magiſtrates*, men in publick place, of whom it is ſpoken, *I have ſaid ye are Gods*, are placed by God for the common good; thoſe that are ſet to rule, like the Sun ſhould be full of light, and heat, viſible in *example*, and powerful *influence*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Probity, and the practice of it among the Romans.

THe external *object*, as it relates to the *Perſons* towards whom *vertue bends* its *eie*, delivers it *Janus*-like, looking forward by *Piety* upon *God*, backward by *Probity* upon *man*, providing a *well-being* both for *Soul* and *body*, and directing us for the *benefit of our* ſelves and others.

Of the firſt, *Piety*, we have already ſpoken, the other, *Probity*, is therefore that which remains for the ſubject of our preſent diſcourſe, and this meets

us well accompanyed, noblie followed, as having all those vertues in her *train*, which are necessary to enable us in performing our *duties* as we stand in all relations. For its *denomination*, we find it termed by the *Greeks* Καλοκάγαθία, and by the *Latines Honestas*, from *honos honour*; so ingenuously provident were the *Antients* that it might not be so much as mentioned without its due, *honour*. And indeed it is the very *abstract* of the other *vertues*; it is the *circle* from whence those noble *lines* are drawn, and the *center* in which they meet; it is the *salt* that seasons them, and the *soul* that informs them, that bestowes their glorious being. Without this, *Prudence* would be

but

but *cunning*. *Justice*, in *execution*, but a more specious and reserved kind of *revenge*; in *distribution*, but a *keeping* of *credit* to maintain our *trade*; in *rewarding*, but a *bribery* to gain affection, and encrease our *dependancies*. *Fortitude*, but a brutish *audacity*, and daring *rashness* to render our selves *terrible*, and gain *Domination*. *Temperance*, but a kind of *senslesnes* and *stupidity*, a *Stoical* piece of *tyranny over our bodies*.

Hence grew its esteem among the *Moralists*, which generally make the other vertues spring from the pregnant womb of *Probitie*; and hence came it to be honored among the *Romans*, which they beheld blessed with so glorious and numerous a *pro-*

geny, attended by ſo beautifull a company of *Daughters*.

This was it ſet *Numa* on the *Throne*, and made them with one conſent call him from a private Country life to govern *Rome*, paſſing by the moſt noble among both *Romans* and *Sabines*. It was this fetched *Serranus* from the *Plough*, and adorned him with the abſolute & uncontrollable power of *Dictator*. This encouraged them to elect *Cato* to be *Cenſor*, and paſs by the nobleſt *Competitors*, when inſtead of courting the *people*, he ſeemed to threaten them, proclaming, that by chooſing him and *Valerius Flaccus*, whom they alſo made his *Collegue*, the *City* might be purged of its new corruptions, and the

antient probity of manners restored. This made *Fabritius*, when the *Physician* sent him word, that if he pleased he would poison *Pyrrhus*, return the *Letter* to *Pyrrhus* with this exprobration, That he was most unfortunate in his choice of friends, as well as enemies; which when *Pyrrhus* had received, and hanging his *Physician*, returned the *Roman Captives* without ransom, *Fabritius* sent as many captives of his with this admonition, that he discovered the *Treason* not for any favour or respect he bore to him, but to let him know that the *Romans* abhorred by *treachery* to destroy their enemies. *Pyrrhus* had then invaded *Italy*, had overthrown the Consul *Lævinus*,

and was grown numerous by the revolt of many of the people of *Italy* who lackied to his *Fortune*; his *Physician* unsought to, even of his own accord, offers to rid them of this *danger*, yet so great was their love to *honesty*, they chose to undergo any hazard, rather than to connive at a *dishoneſt act*, or in the least to bear with it though in a *Stranger*.

Behold *O Matchivilian*, this is that which truly establishes a *State*, when thy unworthy *policies*, though they may be prosperous for a while, are never long-lived, and thy rotten props will in the close fail thee, and bury thee in the ruins of that thou buildest upon them. Produce me an example, where although

although *Prosperity* might lead the Van, reproach and ruine did not bring up the Rear? where thy *villanies* flourishing for a day, were not frost-nipt at night? where though they might bud in the morning, and blow at noon, they were not blasted in the evening, and their purple changed into sables, their rosie-tinctured mantles into nights black livery, double dy'd in *Infamy* and *Horror*? whereas vertuous *Honesty* renders *States* and *Persons* stable like it self, whose glorious edifices in the rougheſt and moſt boysterous ſtorms ſtand unſhaken like their foundation: yea and alwaies cloathes them with the tryumphant robs of ſucceſs, who in its *armour of proof* have

have combated their Foes. This was it ſet *Rome* aloft in ſpight of all oppoſition, and raiſed her on her feet, when ready to be trampled on by her fierceſt foes. This was it upheld her courage in the midſt of the greateſt loſſes, and made her enemies tremble in the height of their victories, as accounting her invincible in her vertue, which would make all force ſtoop and vaile bonnet in the end. Thus may we ſee *Pyrrhus* even reeking with a bloody *victory*, diſpatch away his Ambaſſadour, and ſtretch out his victorious arms to implore a peace, whileſt the beaten *Roman* diſdains to treat, and can hardly be brought to give any terms to the *Conqueror*, rejecting his profered *Friend-*

ſhip,

ship, as much as his *Gold* and *bribes*. For his *Ambassadour* could not fasten the least gift on any private person, nor obtain any other answer from the *Senate*, than a command to leave *Italy*, and that the *Consul* was comming, and in the head of the *Roman Legions* should deliver their Terms. This made *Fabritius* contemn his profered *Gold*, deride his stratagem of the *Elephant*, which was suddenly brought upon him to try if they could terrifie him; refuse his profer of being next the King, if he would continue with him; and return this brief answer, I am no more moved at your *Beast*, than I was with your *Gold*, and for me to live with thee would be perillous,

O *King*, for ſhould thy Subjects once come to know me, they would chooſe rather to ſerve me than thee; account *Fabritius* more worthy of the *Throne*, than *Pyrrhus*. This was it carried *Cato* the elder through the greateſt oppoſitions of the *Roman* Nobility, and ſet him above the reach of their envy and malice: this gave him the *Suffrages* from all his *Competitors*, the antient and nobleſt *Roman blood* backt with all its factions and dependancies being unable to ſtand in competition with a *Plebeian Probitie*, or the whole *Patrician* Order to put ſtop to his being choſen *Cenſor*, yea and whom he pleaſed to be joined with him. This was it, not *affection* or *money*, yea that in de-

despight of *Favour* and *Bribery* brought him off in all his accusations; so that he never was once condemned though fifty times impeached, but in every action had the day; yea this gave him the confidence to demand his greatest *adversary* to be *Judge* at his last tryal, who also gave sentence for him. So potent is *Honesty*, that *Malice* it self cannot but yield, and either openly acknowledge, or tacitly confess, that her roughest and best-edg'd files can't touch it. Who would not then imbrace this so potent, and excellen *vertue*? which even wrests *Encomiums* out of the mouths of enemies: which could make *Pyrrhus* with admiration cry out, *That it was easier to turn the*

Sun

Sun from its course, than Fabritius *from his integrity.* And his Ambassadour *Cyneas* return this answer, when askt what he though of *Rome*. *That it was a City of Kings, and a Senate of Gods;* Every private person vertuously commanding his affections, and the Magistrates divinely influential for the publike honor and safety.

And now comming to handle the particular *vertues*, we shall follow *Cicero l.* 1. *offic.* in his division of them into *Prudence*, *Justice*, *Fortitude*, and *Temperance*, under which all necessary honest actions may be reduced; and these are commonly called the *Cardinal vertues*. *Prudence* that directs our *reason*, the other govern our *appetites*, as *Fortitude*

tude and *Temperance* in adverſe and proſperous affairs concerning our ſelves, *Juſtice* in that which pertains to others.

CHAP. XX.

Of Prudence.

THis *vertue* is called by the *Greeks* φρόνησις, ἀπὸ τῦς φρενὸς, from the *mind*, whoſe chief ornament it is: By the *Latines Prudentia, quaſi providentia à providendo*, it foreſeeing what is to be avoided, what to be choſen, as moſt appoſit for the welbeing of our ſelves and others, it being alſo its ſpecial employment to provide for the future, and we are only to look upon it in

in its politick capacity, as it is reduced under *Moral Philosophy*: for though it may be accounted an *intellectual vertue* in regard of its *subject* and *efficient cause*, as having its dependancy on the *understanding* and *judgement*: yet in respect of its *object* and *end* it becomes also *moral*, as which leads not only to contemplative but practical felicity, and beholds *civil good* as its most lovely object.

And indeed *prudence* is ἀρχιτέκτων the Master Workman, the principal Agent in the raising and composing of the noble frame of *vertue*, ὡς γὰρ αὕτη προστάττει ἕτως αἱ ἀρεταὶ, καὶ οἱ κατ' ἀρετὰς πράττοντες: *For as this directs, so do the vertues, and vertuous men act*: This draws the lines of *Election*, in

in whoſe rectitude the main force of *vertue* lies; this ſquares and contrives by *deliberation*, making the timbers fit, and the whole ſtructure decent and uſefull: yea ſo neceſſary an ingredient is it in *morality*, that *Ariſtotle* and with him all the *Moraliſts* have concluded,

Firſt, That a man cannot be vertuous, unleſs he be prudent; οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡ κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου ἕξις, ἀρετή ἐστι: *For vertue is not only an habit conſonant to, but joined with right reaſon.*

Secondly, That a man cannot be prudent, unleſs he be vertuous: for he muſt have a right end in all his actions, which is inconſiſtent with *crooked manners*. *Qualis vita, finis ita,*

ita, may be well enough apply'd here; beſides, *vice* perverts the *judgement*, καὶ διαψευδόμενα ποιεῖ περὶ τὰς πρακτικὰς ἀρχάς, *and like a cheating Tradeſ-man ſhews colors by a falſe light.* It is therefore affirmed on all hands, κατά τε τὴν φρόνησιν, καὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν ἀρετὴν ὀρθὸν εἶναι τὸ τέλος, *That by prudence and vertue, every work is made abſolute. Vertue* ſetting up a right *end*, and *prudence* making choice of apt means to bring us to that end.

Prudence thus comming within our verge, let us inquire what it is: And firſt we find *Cicero in l. 2. de invent.* thus telling us, That Prudence is an exact knowledge of what is both good and evill, *Prudentia eſt rerum bonarum, malarum,*

n.

utrarumque peritia. And *Lipſius* makes it, *notitia rerum eventuumque, et judicium in iis rectum,* An ability in knowing, and judging aright of things and events. *Ariſtotle* defines it, *l.6. eth.c.5.* ἕξις ἀληθὴς μετὰ λόγου πρακτικὴ περὶ τὰ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακά, An habit conjoined with right reaſon, converſant and operative in thoſe things which bring good or evil unto man.

And now having viewed its *eſſence*, let us a little conſider its *operation*, and we find its employment to conſiſt in a ſolid *deliberation* of thoſe things which are good and profitable, not particularly onely to health & ſtrength, but which generally conduce to a vertuous and happy life, *lib.6.ethic. e.5.* and this not

not by deliberating of the general precepts, and lawes of living, which are certainly defined, but by consulting how to square each single act by the streight rule of *vertue*; for in the variety of *circumstances* upon which the rectitude or pravity of action depends consists the *obscurity*, and in this *consultation* is solely requisite: And now *counsel* being taken, *prudence* decrees that good is to be chosen before evil, the greater good before the lesser, and the lesser evil before the greater; yet this onely *in malo tristi*, *non turpi*; for the prudent man alwaies shuns the least baseness; therefore the Philosopher tells us that there are some things which are to be abhorr'd above

torments

torments, or death it self; thus *Pericles* being intreated by a friend to give a falſe teſtimony, returned this anſwer, Δεῖ με συμπράττειν τοῖς φίλοις, ἀλλὰ μέχει θεῶν, I'm only to help my friends in ſuch things as offend not the Gods; and the *French* Hiſtory affords a memorable example of this in the Prince of *Conde*, who being trecherouſly ſurpriſed by *Charles* the 9th. and word ſent him that he muſt chooſe either to go to Maſs, to dy, or to be perpetually impriſoned, nobly anſwered, *For the firſt, by Gods aſſiſtance, I will never do it, for the other two let the King do as he pleaſe, yet I doubt not but God by his Fatherly providence will turn all to the beſt*: He refuſes the crime, neither would he chooſe the

the punishment, lest he might seem to disavow his own innocency: Whereas *David*, convinced of his guilt *in numbering the people*, by choosing the Pestilence, before Sword or Famine, as a more mild and fatherly punishment, acted the part of a *prudent man*, 2 *Sam.* 24.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Causes of Prudence, Natural parts, Experience, Learning, Travel, &c.

THE chief causes of *Prudence* may be reduced under three heads, *Nature*, *Use*, *Learning*.

First,

First, there muſt be ſome foundation in *nature*, ſome ground whereon to build, *ex quovis ligno non fit* Mercurius, every block will not make a *Mercury*, it is in vain to waſh an *Æthiopian*, and though a fool be brayed in a Morter he will never become wiſe: therefore the *Moraliſts* generally hold theſe three things requiſite to the acquiring of *Prudence*, Σύνεσις Δεινότης μνήμη, a cleer judgement, a quick Apprehenſion, and a ſtrong Memory; The two firſt being neceſſary to a right judging, and readily applying apt means for gaining our end. Thus *Thucydides* in *lib.* 1. gives us an eminent example in the perſon of *Themiſtocles*, who without long warn-

ing or tedious consultation, by the very acuteness of his understanding gave the best counsel: in future things he could exactly conjecture what would happen; in present affairs he was quick of dispatch; he was most dexterous at discovery in unknown, and in obscure things above all men could foresee what might be for the better, and what for the worse: to sum up all, what by the strength of nature, and help of deliberation, he became so exact, as he seldome or never missed his mark. And *Livie* in 4. *dec. lib.* 9. shews another in *Cato Major*, *In hoc viro tanta vis animi, ingeniique fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturus fuisse videretur: nulla ars neque privata,*

tæ, neque publicæ rei gerendæ ei de∫uit, urbanas, ru∫ticaſque res pariter callebat: ad ſummos honores alios Scientia juris, alios eloquentia, alios gloria militaris provexit; huic verſatile ingenium ſic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodcunque ageret. The laſt which is Memorie furniſhes us with examples and preſidents by which we are taught both by other mens loſſes or advantages, what courſe, and how we ſhould ſteer in all our affairs. Thus the *Philoſopher* in his little book of the Vertues ſtiles Memory the cauſe, and that known verſe, *uſus me genuit, mater peperit memoria*, makes *Uſe* the Father, and *Memory* the Mother of *Prudence*. *Demoſthenes* ſaith

it is required in a prudent man to remember what is paſt, to diſpatch and mind whats preſent, and to provide for what may happen. And *Iſocrates* gives this rule, That when we deliberate, we ought to conſider of paſt examples, for by calling to mind things that are gone, we ſhall be better enabled to make proviſion for things that are to come. We ſhall ſum up this with that of *Strada* in his *prolus. academ. Qui memoria præ aliis valet, glorietur tanquam excellenti vitæ bono, tanquam theſauro, et penu diſciplinarum, germana literaturæ, muſarum Parente, altrice ſapientiæ, inſigni demum argumento divinitatis*; as was obſervably eminent in thoſe prudent men *Homer*, *Ariſtotle*,

Ariſtotle, *Seneca*, and eſpecially *Julius Cæſar*, who is reported never to have forgotten any thing, but an injury.

The ſecond help is *uſe* or *experience*, which furniſh us with an inſight in ſingle actions, which are moſt neceſſary the prudent mans knowledge; natural abilities, and learning do often make men opiniative, and to preſume themſelves knowing and wiſe: but it is experience that brings ſolidity. The greateſt Clerks are not alwaies the wiſeſt men; Therfore *Theognis* concludes Δόξα μὲν ἀνθρώποισι κακὸν μέγα πεῖρα δ' ἄριστον, Opinion to be of evil conſequence, but uſe of the beſt concernment; to which *Lipſius* aſſents, eſpecially in thoſe that are

to

are to ſit at the helm in a *State*: indeed this is it which in every art makes a man his Crafts-Maſter; and there is both a civill and Military art requiſite to the well-governing of a State: therefore your experienced Soldier is choſen to command, and men moſt verſed in State affairs held fitteſt for counſel, and government. Suppoſe we were to perform a far voyage, or to enter an unknown and dangerous harbour, would we not chooſe him for a Pilot who had oftneſt ſteered it, who was beſt acquainted with the paſſage? truly let us conſider and we ſhall find a Common-Wealth may properly enough be likened to a Ship, and the mannagement of affairs to

ſteerage;

steerage; thus *Horace Ode* 14. *O navis, referent in mare te novi fluctus*: And the ingenuous and learned *Johnson* in his *Catiline* brings *Cato* thus speaking to the then chosen Consul *Cicero*.

——Each petty hand
Can steer a Ship becalm'd: but he that will
Govern, and carry her to her ends, must know
His tides, his currents, how to shift his sails;
What she will bear in foul, what in fair weather;
Where her springs are, her leaks and how to stop them;
What sands, what shelves, what rocks do threaten her,
The forces, and the natures of all winds,

Gusts, storms, and tempests.
When her Keel ploughs Hell,
And Deck knocks Heaven, then to mannage her
Becomes the name, and office of a Pilot.

Thus the prudent man must not onely be well acquainted with his own strengths, the ability of the means he hath chosen as fit to bring him to his proposed end, but with the vigor and force of whatsoever is likely to oppose him: He must provide for open assaults, and countermine against underhand practices, for should he depend onely upon his own power, he will be at loss upon every opposition; he will bowl short of his Mark, unless he allow for rubs, which may be in

in the way. And hence it is that the *Moralists* generally exclude young men as incapable of *Prudence*, who by the natural heat and vigor of youth are too fiery, apt to presume and run headlong into action without any deliberation; whereas grave men, through use, and experience are made wary and provident; They will look before they leap, consider whether they shall be able to carry on such or such a design, maugre all opposition, before they imbark themselves in it: therefore *Homer* being to present a prudent Counseller under the person of *Nestor*, makes him 300 years of age; a man of the greatest experience, who had waded through the employ-

ments of three ages.

The third help is *Learning*; for there being ſo great a variety, ſuch nooks, and corners in action, that light is neceſſary on all ſides to further us in our ſearch, it will be needfull for us that would be prudent to fly to *Learning* for aid, which can afford us noble and copious aſſiſtance.

As firſt *Hiſtory*, which is as it were another *uſe*, but of a more vigorous capacity. Man clog'd with matter can move but ſlowly, and by his birth and outward concernments is commonly circumſcribed within ſome narrow nook or angle of the World, where he is conſtrain'd to ſpend that ſhort time of life which nature allowes: ſo that

that let him employ his utmoſt diligence in obſervation, and moſt ſtrictly take notes, his knowledge can arrive but to the half of one ages experience, and that too but of a few Nations actions; whereas *Hiſtory* layes before us all mankind in all ages acting in whatever as yet hath happened, and providing for, and againſt whatever could fall under humane conſideration, ſo that we ſhall not meet with any affair which may not be paralleld, and which we may not find mannaged by others, even to our hands, in the large Volume of *Hiſtory*. This is that which can make a *young man prudent*, and exalt his experience above the oldeſt he that ſhall ſtand on tipto upon his

his own obſervation: this is that upon whoſe Shoulders a *Dwarf in years* ſetting his feet, ſhall ſee further than a *Neſtor*, than the talleſt Gyant ſtanding on the ground of his own experience. This is that, which not only enriches the memory with variety and plenty of actions and examples, but alſo enobles the mind with excellent and choiſe precepts, with good and wholſome admonitions; for wiſe and prudent men generally being the Penmen to *Hiſtory*, have flouriſhed her about, and embroidered the edges of her Garments with rich and precious maxims, coſtly and curious obſervations of their own. We will conclude Hiſtories character with *Heinſius*, *Eſt certiſſi-*

ma

ma divinæ erga Homines benignitatis obſes, veritatis mater, vitæ norma, actionum propagatrix vera, Prudentiæ (ut quidam apud Græcos loquitur) metropolis. Hæc ætatem noſtram cum ætate æquat univerſi; hæc imaginem, non corporis, ſed vitæ, ſed conſiliorum, ſed animi ad poſteros transfundit, et expreſſam non in ære, aut ferro, non picturæ beneficio aut plaſticæ, immortali rerum ac verborum copia delineatam omnibus ſpectandam exhibet.

And it is reported of *Lucius Lucullus*, who conquered two great Kings, *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, that by Hiſtory he was trayned up to that ſkill in Martial affairs, which rendred him both an able and victorious General, one who with 12000 foot

foot, and 3000 horſe, beſieged the great City *Tigranocerta*, and beat *Tigranes* comming to relieve it with 20000 darts and ſlings, 150000 foot, and 55000 horſe, 17000 of which were armed cappa-pe.

Secondly, As *Hiſtory*, ſo *Philoſophy*, as firſt *Moral*, confers much help in attaining of *Prudence.*

As 1. in teaching thoſe peculiar rules of life, and Canons, according to which the *prudent* man governs his counſels, and actions; beſides, it is generally held that a man cannot be *prudent* unleſs he be *vertuous*, now the readieſt way to become ſo is to know what *vertue* is, and wherein it conſiſts, which *Moral Philoſophy* teaches, together with

with the means to attain it. To ſum up all, *prudence* it ſelf, with all its precepts, and rules, is here handled; whether then ſhould we go for *water* but to the *Fountain*, where it is moſt pleaſant, *Dulcius ex ipſo fonte bibuntur aquæ*, moſt abundant, and moſt eaſie to come by?

Secondly, *Speculative Philoſophy* is a great help; this confers *Sapience*, a dear friend, and ſupport to *Prudence*, upon whoſe precepts *Prudence* builds, and laies the foundation of its rules; as for example, upon the doctrine of the *rational ſoul*, the doctrine of the *will*, and of the *affections*: neither can any man be *prudent*, unleſs he be able to diſcern thoſe various circumſtances of *perſons*, *places*, and *times*,

times, all which are distinctly handled in *Speculative Philosophy*. Thus *Aristotle* affirms *Sapience* to be marvellously profitable for the solid understanding of humane *felicity*, (which is the end *prudence* proposes) both because the operations of the *will* have their dependency upon the operations of the *understanding*, for we will after the same rate as we understand; as also because many arguments may be drawn from *Speculative Philosophy* which may much conduce to the exercise of vertue; as an insight into the temper of our bodies may perswade us to Temperance. And *Lipsius* commends both *Moral* and *Speculative Philosophy*; *Duæ istæ partes formant hominis animum, vel*

ad

ad virtutis amorem, & pretium, vel ad notitiam Cæleſtium, & Terreſtrium, è quibus magnitudo animi oritur, & ſimul modeſtia, collatione utrorumque, becauſe both of them create in the mind of man as well a love and eſteem of vertue, as a knowledge of the nature of Cæleſtial and earthly things, from which ſprings magnanimity, and modeſty too by comparing each with other. To ſum up all with that known ſaying of *Divine Plato*, Then Commonwealths ſhall become happy, when *Philoſophers* are made *Magiſtrates*, or *Magiſtrates* addict themſelves to the ſtudy of *Philoſophy*.

Thirdly, *Philology*, a ſkill in Languages is of much importance to a *prudent man*, by which he

he is made able not onely to converſe with, but to dive into the actions of *Foreiners*; indeed all commerce, all correſpondences, all leagues are beholding to this, without which nation could not diſcourſe with nation but by ſigns, by mopping and mowing as *Monkies* do: and it would be as poſſible for us to underſtand the Cats wawling in our gutters, as an Ambaſſadour, or Merchant which could not ſpeak *Engliſh*.

Laſtly, Both *Geometry*, and *Geography* are of no ſmall uſe to advance Prudence; and *Ariſtotle* is bold to affirm it impoſſible for a young man to be *prudent* without ſkill in the *Mathematikes*, 6. *Eth.* 8. *c.*

But to theſe three, to wit,

Natural

Natural parts, *Uſe*, *Learning*, we may adde as inſtrumental cauſes both a careful obſervation of examples, and alſo Travail; thus we ſhall find *Demoſthenes* affirming ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἑτέρων παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι μᾶλλον εὐλαβεῖς γίγνονται: and *Terence*, *Hoc vero eſt ſapere, in aliorum vitam tanquam in ſpeculum intueri, et ex illis exemplum capere tibi quod ex uſu fiet.* The wiſe man dreſſes himſelf in the glaſs of other mens actions, in which he may diſcover what is comely and fit for him: and *Homer* gives travail for a chief cauſe of *prudence* in his *Ulyſſes*, πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνω. And now I ſhall ſum up all with a few examples, which are held by many more prevalent in perſwaſion than

than advice or instruction. And first, *Solon* the *Athenian* Law-maker was not onely endowed with parts, exercised in affairs, improved by travail, but excellently learned, as many of his writings testify; yea so desirous was he of knowledge, that upon his death-bed being visited by some friends, he lifted up his head, and listned to their discourse, and when asked for what end he was so attentive, returned this answer, *that knowing this, I may dy more learned.* Thus *Epimanondas*, the glory of *Thebes*, is reported by *Thucydides* to have studied much, but ἄνευ μαλακίας, without effeminacy. Thus *Philip*, thus *Alexander*, thus *Philopomen*, *Cato* the younger, *Julius* and *Augustus*

Cæsar

Cæ∫ar were learned, the latter of which di∫charged a *Con∫ular Legat*, as rude, unlearned, and unfit for imployment, becau∫e he had writen *ixi* for *ip∫i*. Thus *Marcus Antonius* the good Emperor was called the *Philo∫opher*, and that famous Lady *I∫abella* of *Spain*, and the incomparable *Elizabeth* of *England* were ∫tudious and learned.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Prudence of the Romans.

THis victorious and fortunate *Common-wealth* was ∫o ∫en∫ible of the nece∫∫ity of this *vertue* to the wel-being of a *State*, that they took the greate∫t

greateſt care to provide that able and prudent perſons ſhould only be admitted to the management of affairs: as for example, they had their *Lex annalis*, the Law that provided, that none ſhould bear office before ſuch and ſuch an age, becauſe they would not have unexperienced, raſh and imprudent young men truſted at the helm of State. Thus *Latinus Pacatus in Laudat. Theodoſii. Annorum, inquit, ita cura fuit majoribus, ut non ſolum in ampliſſimis Magiſtratibus adipiſcendis, ſed in Prætoris quoq; aut Ædilitatibus capeſſendis ætas ſit ſpectanda petitorum; neque quiſquam tantum valuerit nobilitate, vel gratia, qui annos comitiali lege præſcriptos, feſtinatis honoribus occuparit.*

Thus

Thus *Cicero Philip.* 5. *Legibus annalibus cum grandiorem ætatem ad Conſulatum conſtituebant, temeritatem adoleſcentiæ verebantur.*

Thus *Ovid* 5. *Faſt.*

——— *Finitaque certis*
Legibus eſt ætas, unde petatur honos.

And we find that thoſe that ſet the feweſt will have 25 years of age the time wherin the firſt office to wit of Quæſtor could be born; for that of Ædilis, and Tribune 27 or 28. for Prætor 35. for Conſul 42, or 43. as *Cicero* plainly tells us in *Phil.* 5. *Quid Alexander Macedo, qui cum ab ineunte ætate res maximas gerere cæpiſſet, trigeſimo tertio anno mortem obiit? quæ ætas noſtris legibus decem annis minor quam Conſularis.* And though

though this Law might now and then be dispensed with in some extraordinary danger, and for some more than ordinary worth and vertue in some single person, as *Scipio Africanus*, *Scipio Æmilianus*, and *Pompeius Magnus*: as there can be no general rule but may admit of some exception, especially where the reason of the Law pleads against the Letter, which taken strictly would deprive the State of the service of such eminent Citizens when her dangers would admit of no delay: yet for the general it was inviolably observed until the unruly and tyrannous *Monarchs* turned this topsie turvy, together with all other their most sacred Laws and Liberties. Thus also we shall find

find *Lycurgus* that wise Lawgiver among the *Spartans*, (who so long as they observed his rules were the most eminent State among the *Greeks*) would admit none into the Senate, unless he were sixty years of age.

But we shall conclude this with some few examples which may convince us throughly of the benefit of *Prudence*. *Cato the elder* being *Consul*, had *Spain* alotted for his Province, which was then near to a total revolt; coming thither the *Celtiberians*, a warlike and populous nation, offered to aid him for 2000 talents; this proposition was generally disliked by the *Romans*, as a thing unworthy the *Roman* magnaminity, by

money to buy aid or friendſhip, until the *Conſul* convinc'd them how ſmall a thing the *Celtiberians* demanded, without whoſe aid there was no hopes of *victory*; *For ſhould we overcome by their aſſiſtance, we will pay them out of the enemies ſpoils, ſaid he, but ſhould we and they be beaten, neither will they be alive to demand, nor ſhall we be left to pay.* *Scipio Africanus*, being about to invade *Afrike*, and carry the war to the gates of *Carthage*, prudently ſeeing that a *State* which warred by Mercinaries, would be weakeſt at home, ſelected 300 able and reſolute young men out of the *Roman* Legions, whom he kept about him, none knowing to what end, and being arrived in *Si-*
cilie

cily, he commanded 300 of the nobleſt and wealthieſt *Sicilian young Gentlemen* to appear ſuch a day with their horſe and arms. The time being come, he demanded whether they were willing to go with him, or no? for he had rather they ſhould now tell the truth, than afterwards be unprofitable, and unactive, as ſuch would be. Wherupon one of them anſwered, that if he were put to his choice he ſhould rather ſtay at home; *Scipio* commending him for his ingenuity, and calling one of the 300 hundred *Roman* young men, this youth, ſaith he, ſhall ſerve in your ſtead upon condition you will furniſh him with horſe and arms, and take him home, and exerciſe and teach

him; which he joyfully consenting to, all the rest presently desired a dismission upon the same terms: Thus raised he a gallant Troop, which did him great service, without charge to the *Common-wealth*, whose treasury was emptyed by a long and chargeable war: and obliged the *Sicilians* and their friends, by dismissing their persons from a dangerous war upon so small and inconsiderable a condition as that seemed to them, who would have given far more had they been put to their own choice. And indeed it is not so much the tax, as the manner of laying and levying it, that begets distastes, tumults, insurrections, and revolts.

Had

Had *Scipio* laid this charge of providing horſe and arms, &c. upon theſe *Sicilian* Gentlemen, without any other circumſtance, what mutterings would there have been? why ſhould we above all others be thus uſed? and what hatred would it have procured him? whereas doing as he did, firſt he ſeem'd to have a great confidence in their worth and valour, to chooſe them out of the thouſands of *Sicily*; then a great regard of and civility to their perſons, by enquiring whether they were willing to ſerve or no; Laſtly a greater reſpect to their contentment than his own, by ſo gentle and eaſie a diſmiſſion of them whom he had honoured above others, and

who by refusing to engage with him, disappointed his hopes, & made void the great expectations he had of them: and so by this means imposed an obligation upon them, who in another way would have looked on it as a great discourtesie. And as we find the benefit of Prudence in these, so may we see the mischiefs which improvident rashness wrought in other examples. As in *Coriolanus*, who by his stubborn and harsh carriage brought banishment on himself, a miserable war and disgrace upon his Countrey, which at last caused his death. Thus *Terentius Varro* by rashness and imprudency had almost ruined his Country in that fatal and bloody battail

at

at *Cannæ.* And multitudes of other examples we shall meet with in all Histories, yea and in our own dayly experience and observation.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Justice, and the Roman *practice of it.*

IT would be a thing of the smallest concernment both to know and choose what is good and to accomodate our actions to the exact circumstances of place, time, and persons, unless we should acknowledge our selves obliged to vertuous actions, and to a total obedience of all her lawes, which is *Ju-*

ſtices part to teach, whoſe praiſe were more proper for a prolix Oration than the narrow limits of our diſcourſe. *Ariſtotle* in brief calls it, κρατίστην τῶν ἀρετῶν, the beſt of the vertues, And *Plato* οὔθ' ἕσπερος οὔθ' ἑῷος οὕτω θαυμαστὸς, that neither the morning nor evening Star are ſo admirable. *Cicero in l. 3. offic. Juſtitia eſt virtus excellentiſſima, & ſplendidiſſima, omnium virtutum regina, ac domina.* And *Scalig. Exercit. 307. Sect. 3. Juſtitia eſt conſervatrix conjunctionis humanæ, quæ conjunctio ad beatitudinem magna via eſt.* Indeed it is the uſe of other vertues towards others: πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῇ ἀρετῇ δύνανται χρῆσθαι ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀδυνατοῦσι. For as the Philoſopher, there are many

ny that can be vertuous for their own concernment, who in other mens will faulter. Therefore as *Cicero*, *Justitia foras spectat, totamque se ad alienas utilitates porrigit, atque explicat.* Justice will teach them to act vertuously towards others. It is ἀγαθὸν ἀλλότειον, a good to others, and indeed the most beautiful, perfect, and best vertue. For he is the most vertuous, ὃς ὁ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν χρώμενος τῇ ἀρετῇ ἀλλὰ ὁ πρὸς ἕτερον τοῦτο γὰρ ἔργον, who is good to others; here lies the point; *hic labor hoc opus est*, To make profit, pleasure, revenge, &c. give the way to vertue, to right and equity.

It is called by the *Greeks* δικαιόσυνη, by the *Latines* *Justitia*, and it is either general which

consists *in a vertuous obedience of all lawes tending to the preservation of humane society*, and this is ὅλη ἀρετὴ an universall vertue, according to that of the Proverb,

——Ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πασ' ἀρετήσι.

Or particular, which is *a keeping a mean and æquality in all those things in which adversity or prosperity hath to do, or wherein fortune rules*; to give the definition of both according to *Aristotle*, ἕξις ἀφ' ἧς πρακτικοὶ τῶν δικαίων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀφ' ἧς δικαιοπραγοῦσι καὶ βούλονται τὰ δίκαια, it is an habit apting men to just actions, whereby they are enabled to do, and will just things.

Now for to handle this at large, I suppose would be to little purpose, there being none that perceive

perceive not that it is the chief duty, as being of general concernment, of the Magiſtrate to look well to the exerciſe of this vertue: I ſhall onely therefore hint in ſome caſes which are eſſentiall to the welbeing of a State.

As firſt in caſes of publick danger, the particular members of a State are bound *in juſtice to help the publick with their private ſtocks*, thus we ſhall find in the *Roman* State, *Liv. dec.* 3. *l.* 6. They brought in all their Gold, Silver, and coined Braſs, reſerving only enough for an Ornament of diſtinction, and for the publick ſervice of their Gods, into the Common treaſury, and you ſhall have a motive, *Reſpublica in columis & privatas*

privatas res facile salvas præstes: publica prodendo tua nequicquam serves.

Secondly, the *Magistrate*, after the danger is past, is in Justice bound *to see these publick debts satisfyed*, there being nothing more to be preserved inviolable than the publick faith: Besides Prudence teaches this, for if the people perceive them negligent in their publick trust, it will make them refractory, and careless in their private duties. We shall instance no further than in trading, a man once breaking his word, will never be trusted upon his bond, and it would be a sad plunge to put a State to get another State to be bound for them, and an impossibility to find any private

∫ecurity for ∫uch large ∫ums.

The third thing required by Ju∫tice is, *That the Magi∫trate ought not in the lei∫t to incroach upon the right of particular per∫ons, further than the common nece∫∫ity or good requires*: thus in the beforementioned place we ∫hall find, that firſt the *Con∫uls*, then the *Senate*, then the *Roman Knights* brought in their Gold, &c. They were examples to the people, not exactors upon them. And to ∫ay the truth, the *Magi∫trate* is intru∫ted for the publick good, and it is not in his power to do a private injury, they are *Gods Sub∫titutes*, whoſe glorious attribute it is, That he cannot do injuſtice and the *Peoples Tru∫tees*, to rule for their good: now grant that they

they may extrajudicially take away one mans right, and it will follow that they may take away any mans, and all mens.

The fourth thing is, *Inviolably to observe all Leagues, Treaties, and Publick promises with Forciners:* This will make them be believ'd, lov'd, and honored abroad. Thus we shall see that the *Romans* in defence of, and revenge for their Allyes of *Saguntum*, undertook that long, bloody, and almost fatal second Punick war; nay and when *Hannibal* was in the heart of *Italy*, yet sent they Armies into *Spain*, and upon the first opportunity restored that City, gathered the scattered Inhabitants, bought those that were slaves, and took a sharp revenge upon

upõ their borderers, even to the final ruin of the Nation which had been instrumental in their miseries. Thus shall we see them restore the Kingdom of *Egypt* to *Ptolomy* their Ally, when driven out by a popular insurrection, nay and preserve it in his sons, whom he by Will left to their protection, in spight of the force and ambition of the great *Antiochus*. This made them honourable, and procured them fast Friends, and so it will any State that practises after their Copy.

The fifth thing is, *To have a sacred respect to the Persons of Ambassadours, and Agents*; who are indeed the Ministers of peace; and indeed there can be nothing more brutish, and

lesse

leſſe manly, than to affront and violate theſe Doves which bring Olive branches in their mouthes, whom the Law of Nations gives protection to: thus ſhall we find the *Romans* taking no where ſo ſharp a revenge as upon *Corinth*, which had abuſed their Ambaſſadors: and when they for reſpect to *Ambuſtius* (who being an Ambaſſador to the *Gauls*, had contrary to the Law of Nations taken arms and fought againſt them) denyed to deliver him up as the *Faciales* their Heralds at arms had counſel'd, in the ſack of their City they paid the reward of ſlighting this ſacred Law, and had neer loſt all by the unjuſt endeavoring to preſerve one offender from *Juſtice*.

The

The ſixth thing is, *To endeavour firſt by fair means for ſatisfaction, and if theſe will not prevail, then to ſend them a publick Defiance*: This the *Romans* conſtantly practiſed, as to inſtance once for all, *Liv.d.4.l.6. Conſul deinde M. Acilius ex S.C. ad collegium Fœcialium retulit, ipſine utique regi Antiocho indiceretur bellum? an ſatis eſſet ad præſidium aliquod ejus nunciare? et num Ætolis quoque ſeparatim indici juberunt bellum? et num prius ſocietas eis et amicitia renuncianda eſſet, quam bellum indicendum? Fœciales reſponderunt, jam ante ſeſe, cum de Philippo conſulerentur, decreviſſe nihil referre ipſi coram ni ad præſidium nunciaretur, amicitiam renunciatam videri, cum legatis toties*

ties repetentibus res, nec reddi, nec satisfieri æquum censuissent; Ætolos ultro sibi bellum indixisse, cum Demetriadem sociorum urbem per vim occupassent, &c.

The seventh is, *Honourably to reward their own Citizens who deserve well.* And there can be no greater spur to vertue, nor a better way to propagate and increase it. Thus we shall see what Tryumphs, what Ovations, what Crowns were conferred on victorious Generalls, and valiant Souldiers; as he that preserved the life of a Citizen had an Oaken Crown, and he that first gain'd the top of the wall, a Mural one, by the *Roman* State.

The eight is, *Duly and justly to pay those that serve them.* And this

this will render them well-beloved, and well followed; and though they make use onely of their own Citizens, yet ought these to be well paid who gallantly venture their lives; shall they be liberal of their blood, and shall others be niggardly of their purses? besides, they leave their callings, and all other means of providing maintenance. Thus was their a constant provision of lands among the *Romans* for those that had fulfilled their time of warfare, neither shall we ever find a mutiny for want of pay; and our Saviour tells us, No man goeth to a warfare on his own charge.

The ninth is, *To have a tender regard of their Widdowes and Orphans, who have nobly lost their lives*

lives in their Country's defence. Shall we enjoy rest, and abundance, & see theirs perishing for want by whose valour we have been preserved? besides, it is a great discouragement to others to venture their lives for us, when they shall see such a calamity in their deaths ready to cease the dearest pledges of their souls. Thus the *Romans* provided them portions out of the publick Stock.

The tenth is, *To have the like regard of such men and their families, who have liberally layd out their own estates in the publick service, or have been so publickly minded, as that they have not regarded their private benefit.* Thus did the *Romans* often bury great and noble Captains, who died

di'd poor, on the public charge, and bestow their Daughters according to their qualities.

The eleventh is, *To Crown the Memories of those who had done publick service, with Statues, and tryumphant Arches*, which was every where to be seen in that noble and grateful City of *Rome*. And as these are just, necessary, of good concernment for the nourishing of noble spirits, and producing brave actions, so on the other side it will be the same

Twelfly, *Severely to punish all incendaries, seditious, trayterous, and cowardly persons*, and that first to amend such, secondly to keep the publick authority from contempt, thirdly to terrifie others by their examples,

amples. Thus *Seneca*, *Nimia enim licentia adversus malos, crudelitas est adversus bonos.* And *Cicero*, *Quare ita probanda est mansuetudo, ut adhibeatur Reipublicæ causa severitas, sine qua administrari civitas non potest.* And indeed *obsta principiis*, to nip such practices in the bud, is the safest way, which by connivency may grow to such an height as it will be hard to resist: a small spark unregarded may kindle a flame that shall burn a City: and the *Romans* were so careful in this, that the greatest services, and noblest extraction could not turn the Scale of Justice, as in *Manlius Capitolinus*, *Saturninus*, *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchus*, *Catiline*, *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, &c.

Lastly

Laſtly, *To take an exact account of thoſe that ſhall embeazle or purloin the Publick treaſure; tyrannize and oppreſſe the people under their charge.* For connivency in ſuch caſes will be of very bad conſequence, both in keeping the publick poor and behind-hand, in making Officers Knaves, and wicked, and in undoing, diſheartning and enraging the people: therefore we ſhall find the *Romans* very ſtrict in this point, often calling to account and condemning, even ſome very eminent for other deſerts, as in *Scipio Aſiaticus*, *Marcellus*, and thoſe noble Orations of *Tully* againſt *Verres*. And indeed this is the onely means to preſerve peace and plenty; for

a poor people will be alwaies buſſling, and an oppreſſed careleſs to gather, or play the good huſbands, not knowing how long they ſhall enjoy their own. Therefore *Boætius* excellently ſaies, *Annuum bonum, non tam de magnis fructibus, quam de juſte regnantibus exiſtimandum*, the one will quickly be devoured without the other.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of Laws, and the Engliſh *Laws.*

IT followes now therefore, *offenders* being to be reſtrained, to ſhew what that is which muſt do it, and that is *Law*,

Law, which is the proper *medicine for a Commonwealth* in time of peace, in war there muſt be a ſharper and quicker courſe taken: and indeed this is ſo neceſſary, that as *Livy* ſaith, *Multitudo coaleſcere in vnius populi corpus, nulla re, quam legibus, poteſt*. There can be no communion, no ſociety without Laws; theſe preſerve property, and encourage induſtry, whereas ſhould men be left at uncertainties, they would like wild and *ravenous Beaſts*, wander, ceaſing upon their prey where they met with any weaker than themſelves: but this general aſſertion is taken for granted on all hands, we ſhall only therefore endeavor to give our thoughts in ſome particu-

lars, which seem to concern the *Laws of England.*

As first that our *Generous and knowing Ancestors* plainly perceiving that there could be no *Liberty* where there was no *Law*, were very careful to bring all things to a *certainty*, so that the very *Judges* are obliged to take notice of it as well as the people, and are bound up to observe the *Law* as much as *Plantiff* or *Defendant*: and this, because to set up *Arbitrary Courts* or *Judges* were to leave the people to their will, and in a mist to grope after surmizes what such or such persons would determine; and indeed until men were omniscient, or could prophetically foretel the imaginations of the Rulers or Judges hearts, it were

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the higheſt piece of injuſtice to call men to account for a thing committed againſt no law, and a thing not to be named to condemn them. What could a man call his own, unleſs there were *tenures warranted* and confirmed by *Law?* and to bring a criminal proceſs for a thing no where declared a *crime*, would be a *Tyranny* our Monarchs in the worſt ages would have bluſht at.

But it may be ſaid, *What need there ſo many? theſe engender but ſtrife and vexation*; truly for ſtrife its the effect of peoples perverſeneſs, not the *law*: and ſhould thoſe actions of *Battery*, actions *upon the caſe for words*, and actions *of treſpaſs* be taken away, we ſhould quickly ſee

the people make themſelves *Judges*, and by revenging themſelves fall together by the ears: our wiſe *Anceſtors* being aware of ſuch a miſchief thought it better to let them vent their petty *animoſities* in a *ſute* where ſome ſmall matter of money might be thrown away, and ſpend their ſpleen in opening each others purſe, than to fall into deadly *fewds*, wherein kinred on both ſides would engage, and ſo print their revenges in *murder* and *ruin*, as we have heard practiſed in the Northern parts of this Iſland, and our forefathers ſaw, and provided againſt. For let us aſſure our ſelves, to provide no remedy by *law* againſt theſe

injuries

injuries, which are the main beginnings of all quarrels, would not only make mem more ready to provoke, but others as apt to revenge themſelves being provoked, and of what conſequence this will be to the endangering the civil peace, good, and quiet of a Nation, I leave to the world to judge.

To conclude, as the *Law of England* gives rules, and teaches men their *duties*, ſo is it the moſt careful and provident for their tryals; it ſo abhors arbitrarineſs (as the enemy of liberty, and father of injuſtice) that it will not truſt the matter of Fact, and of Law in one hand, but ſets *twelve men of the neighbourhood* to give their verdict for fact; againſt whom it al-

lowes an attaint, and being found guilty inflicts on them a dreadful punishment; so careful is it of the lives and liberties of particular persons, and so provident that *Justice* should be impartially administred; And now if any by his living in *Turky* is become enamoured of slavery, let him choose arbitrary Courts, for my part I desire a rule to teach me what may be an offence, and *Judges* who are bound by oath to observe that rule to give sentence, and twelve of the neighbourhood to enquire of the fact, and against whom their lies an attaint, and upon eviction a dreadful punishment, before an arbitrary Court, though never so carefully picked, and so

∫o I am ∫ure do all under∫tanding *Engli∫h* men, who any whit prize and value their liberties.

Another objection there is againſt the *Iudges*, *That they are for life*; and that ſuch a continuance may make them remiſs and ſloathful, and that by a continual uſe they become leſs reverent of Juſtice, as a work which dayly uſe makes tedious and clogging: not omitting that it may create faction and combination, as *Livy* notes of the *Carthaginians*, *qui unum ejus ordinis, idem adverſos omnes habebat*; as laſtly that it may beget corruption by taking away fear of calling to account: and therefore the *Romans Decurias Iudicum ſcribebant*, *ex honeſtiſ-*

simis, & ex censu (ne paupertas ad culpam impelleret): sed non eas omnes assidue judicare volebant, duntaxat quot annis certum & necessarium numerum sorte legebant, reliquis tunc feriatis. All this we allow in arbitrary Judges, who cannot be too short a time limitted; but where there are lawes according to which they are to judge, there they ought to have experience and knowledge, which must of necessity encrease by practice and continuance. Thus the *Romans* whilest they were poor and in continual war, there was no great cause of strife, wealth being wanting, and the war employing them and keeping them busie, so that they had little leisure for private brawls:

brawls: but when they began to enjoy peace and plenty, they had their *Decemviri*, which were of continuance, and ſtill provided by new Lawes to bridle new enormities. So that take away law and continuance will be as dangerous, as the loſs of *liberty* and *right* will be inevitable; for we muſt hold all at will, and have no rule to call Judges to account by, whoſe will muſt be our final determination, and as they think ſo muſt the Bell tink.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Fortitude, and the Roman *practice of it.*

THis vertue by the *Greeks* is ſtiled Ἀνδρεία, ἀπὸ τῦ ἀνδρὸς, from a man, becauſe it is peculiar to that ſex, and is ſeldome found in women, and that in regard of the temperament, which muſt be hot and dry, and in a heart which is well compact, ſolid, and full of ſpirit: Therefore *Cicero* 2. *Tuſcul. Viri propria maximè eſt fortitudo, cujus munera duo ſunt, nempe mortis & doloris contemptio.*

We find it defined by the *Philoſopher,*

Philoſopher; ἀνδρεία ἐςὶ μεσότης περὶ φόβες καὶ θάρρη, to be a vertue keeping a mean in fear and confidence. And it is divided into publick and private.

Private is a nobl: and patient undergoing of adverſity, as *Cicero* 4. *Tuſcul. Fortitudo eſt ſcientia perferendarum rerum, vel affectio animi in patiendo, et ferendo, ſummæ legi parens ſine timore: Et in l.*1. *offic. Fortis & conſtantis animi eſt, non perturbari in rebus aſperis, nec tumultuantem dejici de gradu, ut dicitur, ſed præſenti animo uti, et nec à conſilio, nec à ratione diſcedere;* And *Horace l.*2. *od.*10.

Rebus anguſtis animoſus, atque
Fortis apparet——

Publick is a fearleſs under-

taking;

taking, and constant wading through such perils, wherein our deeds and examples may bring benefit to our Countrey, and honour and renown to our selves; and this where, when, and how we ought, as *l.3 eth.c.7.*

By this then we may behold, First that Self murder is no Fortitude, for as *Curtius* saith, *Non fortium virorum est odisse vitam, sed contemnere mortem*, but rather a cowardice that makes them fling themselves into the arms of death to avoid some more threatning evil. Besides, they are injurious to the Commonwealth, which they deprive of a member; yet here for a Sea Captain to blow up his Ship rather than let her be taken by the enemy, is no point of self-

murder

murder; for he aiming at his Countreys good, and her enemies loſs and ruine, acts the part of a valiant and faithful Citizen. Secondly, that Duels are no effect of true valour, they being injurious to the Common wealth. Thirdly, Sturdy Theeves or Robbers, which are not only injurious, and miſchievous, but ſuch as fight directly againſt the laws of humane ſociety: and they are ſo far from being truly valiant, that they are wicked and impudent: and therefore we ſhall find ſome of the Antients define fortitude Φόβον φύγε, καὶ δέος ἀδοξίας; fear of reproof, and dread of infamy; and it is commonly ſeen that thoſe that moſt dread the lawes, leaſt fear the enemy, and

and who are moſt quiet in peace, are moſt valiant in war, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Agis*, καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ἥκιστα δεδιόσιν, οἱ μάλιστα φοβούμενοι τὸ κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι. They are leaſt fearful of ſuffering, who ſtand moſt in aw of doing evil. Much more might be ſaid of this manly vertue, which for brevity we omit, and ſhall refer thoſe that deſire further information, to that maſculine diſcourſe of *Ariſtotle* in *l.* 3. *eth. cap.* 6.

For the *Roman* practice of this vertue, it is ſo obvious in their hiſtories, as we ſhall hardly find the leaſt foot-ſtep of cowardice in that gallant and victorious Commonwealth, whoſe noble Citizens in all occaſions were moſt ready to devote their lives

lives for their Countrie, and ſacrifiſe their rags of mortality, to immortal fame and renown.

And indeed the love of our Countrey, and noble thirſt after honour, are the great agents in this glorious production: for what man that is fully perſwaded of his duty to the firſt, and the reward he ſhall receive from the laſt, can be faint-hearted or cowardly?

--*Fax mentis honeſtæ Gloria*,

ſaith the Poet, and as *Velleius*, *Nec poteſt quidquam abjectum, & humile cogitare, qui ſcit de ſe ſemper loquendum*, A man will hardly be brought to act baſely, who ſhall conſider he ſhall ſtand on record, either infamous or renowned; Yea ſuch a record, as time every day more and more

more publiſhes, as *Lipſius*, *Ut ſol in aurora tenuior, aſſurgit, & inclareſcit; ſic ex virtute, & meritis fama cum ævo ipſo augetur, & creſcit.* What man in flight comming to a bridge, and remembring *Horatius Cocles*, would not make a noble ſtand, and either live with him, or dying live his equal in Hiſtory? I ſhall ſum up all with that of *Polybius*, τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον ἐστὶ κοινόν τι πάντων ἀνθρώπων κτῆμα τὸ δὲ καλὸν καὶ πρὸς ἔπαινον καὶ τιμὴν ἄνηκον θεῶν, καὶ τῶν ἔγγιστα τούτοις πεφυκότων ἀνδρῶν ἐστί, Riches are common, but bravery of mind, and the glory and renown that ſprings from it, is peculiar to the Gods, or ſuch men as come neer them.

CHAP.

Chap. XXVI.

Of Temperance, and the Roman *practice of it.*

THis vertue by the *Greeks* is called σωφροσύνη, *quasi* σώζουσα τὴν φρόνησιν, as it were the preserver of Prudence: for pleasure and grief corrupt τὰς περὶ τὸ πρακτὸν ὑπολήψεις, those faculties which are to consider of action: and a mind taken up with either of these cannot well intend the end for which αἱρεῖσθαι πάντα δεῖ καὶ πράττειν, all things ought to be chosen or done. Now Temperance moderating these passions keeps the mind undisturbed, and deservedly

ſervedly is ſtiled, The Conſervatrix of Prudence.

We ſhall define it, A vertue preſerving a juſt decorum in the deſiring and enjoying ſenſual delights: for grief, which comes within its verge, that only ariſes from want of fruition. It is therefore the duty of a temperat man to abhor diſhoneſt, moderately to deſire, and enjoy lawful pleaſures, and not immoderately to grieve when deprived of them. Now lawful pleaſures are ſuch as firſt ἢ πρὸς ὑγιείαν, conduce to bodily health, or as ὑπὲρ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἢ παρὰ τὸ καλὸν, exceed not our eſtates, and miſbecom the rank and quality we live in.

And of what avail this *vertue* is to the preſervation and growth

growth of a State, Hiſtory and obſervation every where, and every day, may clearly make out unto us. This was it ſet *Rome* upon her legs; This is it that made her Citizens able of body, both to fight, and endure the field; This made her Captains contemn bribes; and her Generals in the height of, military heat, and ſucceſs, ſlight pleaſure, and conſtantly keep the *publick good*, and their *own honour* in their eye. Thus ſhall we ſee the noble *Curius*, when the conquered *Samnites* profered him *Gold*, ſhew them his *Dinner* (for he was at their coming cooking it himſelf) which was a few rape roots in a *pipkin*, telling them there was no great need of *gold* to furniſh his *table*, and

and that he had rather command over ſuch as had Gold, than poſſeſs it himſelf. And when ſome complained that he had aſſigned too little of the conquered Lands to private men, and too much to the *Publick*, He told them, He hoped that there was never a *Roman* Citizen which would count that land too little which was ſufficient to maintain him. Thus ſhall we ſee *Scipio Africanus*, when the Souldiers brought him a moſt beautiful Damoſel, taken in the ſack of *New Carthage* in *Spain*, and hearing ſhe was betroathed to *Allucius* a young Prince of the *Celtiberians*, he ſent for him, and not only beſtowed on him his beautiful Bride, but a great ſum of Gold

as

as her portion, which her parents brought for her ransome. Let us behold the event, this young Prince goes home rapt with joy, filling every place with the praise and merit of *Scipio*, telling his Countrymen, *Venisse Diis simillimum juvenem, vincentem omnia cum armis, tum benignitate, ac beneficiis*, There was a Godlike young man arrived, conquering all both by force and bounty: and within a few daies returned with 1400 horse to *Scipio*'s Camp. Thus by his temperance he advanced the *Roman* cause, which he prefer'd above all private pleasure, and gave *Carthage* a greater blow in this *victory* over himself, than in that other of taking their City, though the most considerable they

they had in *Spain*. I ſhall conclude all with that ſpeech of *Asdrubal* ſurnamed the *Kid*, the *Carthaginian Legat* to the *Roman Senate*, *Raro ſimul hominibus bonam fortunam, bonamque mentem dari: populum Romanum eo invictum eſſe quod in ſecundis rebus ſapere, & conſulere meminerit: & hercle mirandum fuiſſe, ſi aliter facerent: ex inſolentia, quibus nova bona fortuna ſit, impotentes lætitiæ inſanire: populo Romano uſitata, ac prope jam obſoleta ex victoria gaudia eſſe, ac plus pene parcendo victis, quam vincendo imperium auxiſſe.* *God* hath given *England* her ſhare of *ſucceſs*, we have not of late known what it is to be conquered, but as if we had been the adopted ſons of *victory*, ſhe hath perch'd upon

upon our conquering ensigns, and pitch'd her pavilion among our tents. O let us then endeavour not to be transported with any unbecoming *passions*, which may force this *glorious Virgin* to blush, to hide her head, and be ashamed to keep us company any further; but as we increase in power, let us grow in vertue; thus shall we be established, and to our wreaths of Palm and Laurel shall the Olive chaplet be added, and we enjoy the pleasant fruits of Peace at home as well as honourable esteem of valour abroad.

——*Sic, sic juvat ire——*
Per altos virtutum gradus patet ascensus ad æternitatem.

FINIS.